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BY
THE HON. SALMA HALE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET.

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HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THEIR
FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES
TO THE
CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF MR. MADISON,
IN 1817.

BY SALMA HALE.

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P R E F A C E .

IF it be true, as doubtless it is, that every nation should possess a full and particular history of the events which have distinguished its whole career, for the perusal of its hundreds of statesmen and scholars, it is not the less true, that it ought to possess a compendious history, for the perusal of its thousands, whom want of time or means must preclude from all access to the former. The author of the latter yields precedence, of course, to his voluminous competitor; for useless would it be for him to allege, that though the toil of research may be less, yet the labor of composition is as great, and the task of selection greater. He must content himself with the reflection, that, instead of imparting pleasure and instruction to the few, he, if his talents are equal to the task, dispenses them, doubtless less in degree, to the many.

During all his labors,—and they have not been slight,—the author of this compendium has been mindful that a work of this kind is more necessary in this than in any other country; that here it may effect greater good or greater evil; and, therefore, that high responsibilities rest upon him who at-

tempts it. He has certainly not equalled his own conceptions of what it ought to be.

That the space he has assigned to himself has been too narrow to permit the introduction of moral, political, and philosophical reflections, is not the sole reason why they have not found a place. He considers them beyond the sphere of legitimate history. The historian who attempts to teach, except by exhibiting examples, subjects himself to the imputation of arrogance; and never fails to transfer to his pages his own prejudices as well as opinions. It is the duty of the historian to narrate facts; it is the duty, and the privilege, of the reader, to make his own reflections, and deduce his own inferences.

Since 1817, sufficient time has elapsed to fill another volume; but this time has been distinguished less by important and interesting events than by party strife and new political combinations. Of these the history should not be attempted, until the passions they have excited, and the prejudices they have implanted, have, in part at least, died away. The author hopes to be able to add, hereafter, this volume to those now presented to his fellow-citizens.

The statistical tables in the Appendices are such as are not usually found in histories; but they belong to history, and many readers will find them interesting, and all, instructive.

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HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

AMERICA is often denominated the New World. That it emerged from the ocean at a later period than the eastern continent, is an opinion to which the recent discoveries and discussions of geologists have given some degree of plausibility. The inhabitants of other regions first acquired a knowledge of its existence shortly before the year 1000 after Christ. Biarne, a native of Iceland, then left that island for Greenland; but, losing his reckoning in a fog, and sailing he knew not in what direction, he at length saw land, which, from the account he gave of his course on his return, is now supposed to have been some part of the coast of North America. He did not leave his ship, but continued his voyage, and arrived at length at Greenland.

Lief, a native of that country, having heard of Biarne's voyage, bought his ship, and, in the year 1000, sailed towards the point from which Biarne returned. He soon discovered land, and went on shore, somewhere, it is supposed, on the coast of Labrador or Nova Scotia. Sailing thence, and passing between an island, probably Nantucket, and a promontory, he landed at a place supposed to be in Massachusetts or Rhode

Island. Here he erected huts, or booths, and passed the winter ; and, finding an abundance of grapes in the vicinity, he called the country Vinland, or Wineland.

In 1002, Lief having returned to Greenland, Thorwald, his brother, undertook a voyage in the same direction. He reached Vinland, discovered Lief's booths, there passed the winter, and continued some time in the country. In the summer of 1004, Thorwald was killed in a contest with the natives. In the spring of 1005, the remainder of the party returned to Greenland.

Two years afterwards, an expedition, consisting of three ships and one hundred and forty men, sailed for the same country. After coasting along the shore from Labrador to Rhode Island, they there landed, passed the winter, and had considerable intercourse with the natives. During their stay at this place, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, the commander of the expedition, bore a son, who was called Snorre, from whom has descended many distinguished individuals, of whom Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor, is one. Other voyages from Greenland were afterwards made to this country ; but no account has reached us of any made after the year 1347. Narratives of the voyages, of which a very brief abstract is here given, have been lately published, under the superintendence of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, from manuscripts recently discovered in northern libraries. They are not universally credited ; but the reasons for believing them are more cogent than those by which many undoubted historical facts are supported.

It has not been ascertained that the knowledge acquired by the Greenlanders of the existence of America was ever communicated to the inhabitants of the eastern continent. It is known, however, that a constant intercourse was kept up between Greenland and Iceland, and that the English often visited the latter island for the purposes of traffic. And it is mentioned in the journal of the expedition of Thorfinn, that a party of eight men, going in search of the settlement

of Lief, were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves. This gives some countenance to the tradition that the chieftain Madoc, with a portion of his followers, came to this country from Wales.

At this period, the mariners of Northern Europe were more adventurous, if not more skilful, navigators than those of more southern latitudes. The latter were accustomed to cruise, in frail barks, along the coast, not daring to lose sight of land; but the increase of the arts among them, the extension of geographical knowledge, and more especially the invention of the mariner's compass, about the year 1300, gave an impetus to navigation which led to important discoveries. The first was that of the Canary Islands. Afterwards, a squadron, sent by the Portuguese to explore the coast of Africa, passed beyond Cape Non, which had not before been doubled, and reached Cape Bojador. Thus encouraged, they sent out other expeditions for the same purpose, which were successful, discovering, in 1418, the Island of Porto Santo, and, in 1419, the Island of Madeira. Soon after, the Islands of Cape de Verd and the Azores were discovered by companies of merchants.

John II., who ascended the throne of Portugal in 1481, partook of the enthusiasm for discovery which had begun to animate his whole people. In 1484, a powerful fleet was despatched to cruise along the coast of Africa, which advanced fifteen hundred miles beyond the equator, and discovered the kingdoms of Benin and Congo. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz, in command of another fleet, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the southern extremity of Africa.

Exalted ideas of the wealth of the East Indies were then entertained by Europeans; and it was the darling object of all engaged in commerce to find a less expensive route to that country than the one by land then pursued. The information obtained in these expeditions, and in one by land to Abyssinia and the coast of Malabar, gave rise to the hope that India

might be reached by sailing first along the western coast of Africa, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and then sailing northward to the region of riches. This voyage, now so easily accomplished, was then only contemplated as a possible achievement, difficult if possible, and sure to crown him who should first perform it with never-ending fame.

Among the navigators of that age was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, but a resident of Lisbon. He was distinguished for experience and skill in his profession, for extensive knowledge, and for a bold and original genius. Reflecting that the earth was round, he conceived the project of seeking India by sailing directly west. No sooner had he conceived the project, than his mind and his industry gathered arguments and facts which convinced him that it was feasible. Some ancient writer had declared that the diameter of the earth was not so great as was generally supposed; from the accounts of others he was led to believe that India extended farther eastward than geographers had laid it down; and in his intercourse with mariners and others, he had learned that pieces of carved wood, reeds of immense size, trunks of huge pine trees, and, most important of all, the bodies of two dead men, whose features differed from any known race of people, all driven towards Europe by westerly winds, had been taken from the sea at various places. All these, acting upon an enthusiastic temperament, not only confirmed his belief, but impelled him to devote all his energies to the accomplishment of his project. He even considered himself singled out by the Deity, as its agent, to execute this, its own stupendous design.

Being unable to defray the expenses of an expedition, Columbus obtained an audience of the king of Portugal, explained to him his project, and solicited aid. It has been said that he first applied to his native city; but recent investigation throws doubt upon this statement. The king listened to his application with favor, and referred it to his council; but they, instead of

reporting favorably upon it, recommended that Columbus should be kept in suspense, and a vessel despatched to make discoveries in the route which he had designated. One was accordingly sent, but returned unsuccessful. Indignant at this unworthy conduct, he immediately left Portugal, and, repairing to the court of Spain, sought an audience of its joint sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella.

By the friendship of the archbishop of Toledo, he at length obtained access to the sovereigns; but he remained a long time in Spain, following the court from city to city, tantalized by encouragement often held out and as often withdrawn, without succeeding in his object. When hope had almost deserted him, two of his friends made a last attempt to persuade the queen to furnish the necessary funds. By their zeal and eloquence her generous spirit was enkindled, and she declared she would undertake the enterprise for her crown of Castile, and would pledge her private jewels to raise means to fit out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, Columbus was appointed admiral, viceroy, and governor of all the islands and continents which he might discover, — which offices were made hereditary in his family, — and other powers, rights, and privileges were granted to him. Two armed vessels were provided, to which a third was afterwards added, he furnishing a part of the expenses; and on Friday, the 3d day of the following August, he set sail from the port of Palos, steering towards the Canary Islands.

He arrived there on the 9th, remained there three weeks to refit his vessels, and then departed, steering directly west, and boldly venturing into seas which no vessel had yet entered. As the heights of the westernmost island faded from view, the hearts of the crews failed them. They were leaving every thing dear to the heart of man — country, friends, and relatives; before them every thing was mystery and peril. Many shed tears, and some broke into loud lamentations. The admiral, to soothe their distress, described to them the

countries, teeming with gold and precious stones, to which he was about to conduct them, and promised them lands, and riches, and every thing that could encourage them or inflame their imaginations.

Apprehensive that the crews would be alarmed if they knew how fast they receded from home, he kept two reckonings — one private and correct, for his own guidance ; the other, which was open to general inspection, exhibited a daily progress several leagues less than the actual sailing of the ship. On the 13th of September, having sailed about six hundred miles from the Canaries, he noticed the variation of the needle, which had never before been remarked. He made no mention of the circumstance ; but, a few days afterwards, it attracted the attention of the pilots, and filled them with consternation. They apprehended that the compass was about to lose its mysterious virtues ; and without this, their only guide, what was to become of them in this vast and trackless ocean ? He tasked his ingenuity for an explanation ; and that which he gave, although it did not perfectly satisfy himself, quieted the alarm of his companions.

They soon arrived within the influence of the trade wind, which blows constantly from the east to the west between the tropics, and then advanced rapidly over a tranquil sea. After proceeding about one thousand miles from the Canaries, they met with indications of land, such as weeds and birds, which animated and encouraged the crews. They continued to sail onward ; but their expectations were disappointed, and they became agitated and alarmed at the distance left behind them, and at the thought that it might be impossible to return. They recalled to mind that the scheme had been condemned by the learned, and ridiculed by the ignorant. Some proposed that Columbus should be compelled to return ; others, that he should be thrown into the sea, and his friends informed, upon their return to Spain, that he had fallen overboard while taking observations of the stars.

Amidst these difficulties, Columbus displayed those

traits of character which proved the greatness of his mind, and his peculiar fitness for the arduous duties of his station. He appeared among the crew with a calm and cheerful countenance, as if satisfied that he should succeed in his undertaking. Sometimes he soothed them by holding out the prospect of riches and fame, and by reminding them of the gratuity which had been offered to him who should first discover land. Sometimes he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened the most refractory with the vengeance of their sovereigns, should they compel him to relinquish the undertaking.

These encouragements and threats prevented open resistance to his authority. Meanwhile the squadron proceeded onward; the indications of land became more frequent; but none being discovered, the crews again became turbulent and clamorous; they insisted upon abandoning the voyage as hopeless, and returning home. Columbus endeavored to pacify them; but finding their clamor increase, he told them it was useless to murmur, and that he was determined to persevere until he had accomplished the enterprise.

Fortunately, the next day, the signs of land were such as to remove all doubt, and every eye was strained to discover it. At ten o'clock in the evening, Columbus saw a light glimmering at a distance. It soon disappeared, but at two o'clock in the morning of the 12th of October, a gun from the *Pinta* gave the joyful signal of land. Passing from one extreme to the other, they who, a few days before, had reviled and insulted their commander, now regarded him as one whom the Deity had endowed with knowledge and penetration above the common lot of mortals.

At sunrise, Columbus, in a rich and splendid dress, landed, and with a drawn sword in his hand, and displaying the royal standard, took possession of the island for the crown of Spain, all his followers kneeling on the shore, and kissing the ground with tears of joy. The natives, who had assembled in great num-

bers on the first appearance of the ships, stood around the Spaniards, gazing in speechless astonishment.

"The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree was different from those which flourished in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature — entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. Though not tall, they were well shaped and active. They were shy at first, through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards; from whom, with transports of joy, they received various trinkets, for which in return they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they could produce."

To this island Columbus gave the name of San Salvador. The natives called it Guanahani, and by that name it is now known. It is one of the Bahama Isles, and is above three thousand miles from Gomera, the most western of the Canaries. From the poverty and ignorance of the inhabitants, Columbus was convinced that he had not yet arrived at the rich country which was the object of his search. Leaving Guanahani, he discovered and visited several other islands, and at length arrived at one called Hayti, and by him Hispaniola. Here he remained a few weeks, and then returned to Spain.

The news of his wonderful discovery filled the kingdom with astonishment and joy. His reception at court was accompanied by flattering and splendid ceremonies ordained for the occasion; and he was honored by many proofs of royal favor. He made three subsequent voyages, and, in 1498, discovered the continent of America, at the mouth of the Orinoco, a river of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, but far surpassing the largest in the Old.

The honor, however, of first discovering the continent, must, without diminishing the merit of Columbus, be given to John Cabot and his son Sebastian. They

were Venetian merchants, resident in Bristol, but, soon after the result of the first voyage of Columbus was known, were sent, by the king of England, on an expedition of discovery, in the same direction. In June, 1497, they arrived at the island of Newfoundland, in North America, and, proceeding westward, soon after reached the continent. It being their object, also, to find a direct passage to the East Indies, they first sailed northwardly, in search of it, as far as the 57th degree of latitude; then, returning, cruised along the coast to East Florida; and thence sailed to England, without having made any settlement. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.

In 1499, Alonzo de Ojeda, a companion of Columbus in his first expedition, discovered the continent at Paria. Americus Vesputius, a Florentine gentleman, who accompanied him, published, on his return, an account of the voyage, and a description of the country which they had visited; and from him it derives the name it bears.

In 1504, several adventurous navigators, from different parts of France, came, in small vessels, to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. In 1524, John Verazzani, a Florentine, in the employment of the king of France, sailed along the coast of America, from Florida to the 50th degree of north latitude. He is supposed to have entered the harbors of New York and Newport. He made, the next year, another voyage, from which he never returned; nor is it known by what disaster he perished. During the next forty years, frequent voyages were made to the coast of North America. Of some, the object was fishing; of others, trade with the natives. In 1540, the French made an attempt to plant a colony in Canada, which was unsuccessful.

Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512. He had been governor of Porto Rico, and had heard and believed the report, almost universally credited in that age of wonders, that, somewhere in

that quarter of the world, a fountain poured forth waters which would give perpetuity of youth to him who should drink of them. Sailing in pursuit of this fountain, he, on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, discovered land a few miles north of St. Augustine. He went on shore, took possession of the territory for Spain, remained several weeks on the coast, and then returned to Porto Rico.

The same coast was afterwards visited by other Spaniards; and in 1537, Ferdinand de Soto, a favorite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, received from Charles the Fifth a commission to conquer and govern Florida. He embarked with about nine hundred men, and, in May, 1539, arrived at Spiritu Santo. Being told by the natives that gold might be found in abundance in the interior, he proceeded with his whole force to search for it. An account of this expedition has been published; but the places visited not now bearing the same names, it is difficult to describe his route. It is supposed that he passed into the country east of Flint River, in Georgia, and north of the head of the Bay of Appalachee. The next spring, he directed his course north-eastwardly, passed the Alatomaha, and came to the Ogeechee. In July, 1540, he was on the Coosa, near its sources, and afterwards at a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombigbee, where a battle was fought in which 2500 Indians perished. The Spaniards then proceeded towards the north, and passed the winter of 1540-1 in the upper part of the state of Mississippi. Thence they proceeded to the river of that name, and crossed it, probably at the lowest Chickasaw Bluffs. They appear to have visited the high-lands of White River, two hundred miles beyond the Mississippi, and to have wintered on the Washita. In the spring of 1542, they descended the Washita and Red Rivers, and near the junction of the latter with the Mississippi De Soto died. In the hope of reaching New Spain by land, they proceeded westward as far as Natchitoches; then returned to the Mississippi, constructed seven brigans-

tines, in which they descended that river, and, coasting along the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico, arrived, on the 10th of September, 1543, at a Spanish settlement on the River Panuco, having been wandering in the wilderness nearly four years. Of those who entered Florida with De Soto, only 311 arrived at Panuco. Wherever they stopped, they inquired for gold, and the Indians, to get rid of unwelcome visitors, directed them to other and distant places.

In 1562, that illustrious statesman, Jasper Coligni, the head of the Protestant sect in France, projected a settlement in America, to which his brethren might retire from the persecution of the Catholics. He fitted out two ships, and gave the command of them to John Ribaut, who proceeded to America, and landed at a place supposed to be within the limits of South Carolina. He there built a fort, which he called Carolina, in honor of Charles IX., then king of France; left a part of his men, and returned home. The men left behind soon after mutinied, killed their commander, built and equipped a vessel, and sailed for home. In their eagerness to return, they neglected to provide sufficient stores, and suffered, on the voyage, the extremity of famine. At length they met an English vessel, which carried a part of them to France, and the rest to England. This was the first attempt to plant a colony within the limits of the United States; and it is worthy of remark, that to secure an asylum from religious persecution was the object in view.

In 1564, Coligni made another attempt to plant a Protestant colony in America. Three ships were sent, under Laudonniere, who landed and built a fort on the banks of the St. John's, in Florida. At first, the natives were friendly; unjust treatment made them hostile; but the French soon found a more potent enemy in the Spaniards. In 1565, the ferocious and bigoted Melendez, having received from the king of Spain a commission to subjugate and govern Florida, arrived with a strong force on the coast, and approached the French ships at anchor. To the in-

quiry, who he was, and what were his objects, he replied, "I am Melendez of Spain, sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet fled, and, though pursued, escaped.

Melendez returned to the harbor of St. Augustine, went on shore, and, with the usual ceremonies, proclaimed Philip II. king of all North America. Ribaut, who had been sent out to take command of the French settlement, determined to put to sea and attack the Spaniards. A furious tempest arose and wrecked every French ship on the Florida coast. Melendez, knowing the settlement on the St. John's was in a defenceless state, led his troops through marshes and forests to attack it. He surprised the garrison, and nearly two hundred men, women, and children were killed. A few escaped into the woods. Of these, a part returned, gave themselves up, and were immediately massacred; the others, after severe sufferings, found means to return to France.

After the carnage was completed, mass was said, a cross raised, and a site for a church selected on ground still moist with the blood of a peaceful colony.—It is possible that these Spaniards were unconscious of the atrocity of their actions. It is possible that they believed that the religion of Christ justified and required such enormities. How much of the guilt was theirs, and how much must be attributed to the ignorance and barbarism of the age, it is difficult to decide.

The shipwrecked men were soon discovered, and, after a parley, capitulated, upon receiving what they understood to be a promise of safety: "If they would surrender, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them what God should give him grace to do." They were received by Melendez in divisions, and transported, in boats, across a river that separated the parties. In these divisions, with their hands tied, they were marched to St. Augustine, and, as they approached the fort, upon a signal given, were massacred. A few

Catholics were spared. The whole number butchered was said, by the French, to be nine hundred; by the Spaniards, not so many.

Dominic de Gourges, a bold soldier of Gascony, burning with the thirst of revenge, sold his property, obtained contributions from his friends, and equipping three ships, embarked for Florida. He gained possession of two forts near the mouth of the St. John, and a larger one near the site of the French colony. Not being able to keep possession of the country, and revenge being his only object, he hanged his prisoners upon trees, and returned to Europe.

Soon after the return of De Gourges, a civil war between the Catholics and Protestants broke out in France; and Walter Raleigh, then a young man, but afterwards distinguished in the history of England, abruptly left the university to learn the art of war under the veteran Coligni. He must have imbibed from his leader and his companions the indignation excited by the massacre which De Gourges had avenged, and gathered from them some knowledge of Florida. It is known that he became acquainted with the painter De Morgues, who was one of those that escaped from the massacre. In 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half brother of Raleigh, obtained, from Queen Elizabeth, a grant of any country which he might discover in America, and exclusive jurisdiction over it, provided a plantation should be established within six years. He collected a company of volunteer adventurers, equipped a fleet, and put to sea; but one of his ships was lost, and misfortune compelled the remainder to return. In 1583, assisted by Raleigh, he equipped a second squadron, and sailed for America. On arriving before St. John, in Newfoundland, he found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbor, which shows how early that place was known to be a good fishing station. Sailing south, his largest ship was wrecked off Wiscasset, and one hundred men lost their lives. He then determined to return to England, and perished on the voyage home.

In 1584, Raleigh, then the favorite of the queen, who had conferred on him the honor of knighthood, obtained a patent similar to that which had been granted to Sir Humphrey. The next year, he sent two ships, under the command of Captains Amidas and Barlow, to explore the country. In July, they landed on an island called Wocoken, in the inlet to Pamlico Sound, then proceeded to the Island of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina, and at both places were treated with great respect by the natives. Having freighted their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedar, they returned to England, where they published marvellous accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives. The queen was so charmed with the description, that, as a memorial that the country had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen, she called it Virginia.

The next year, Raleigh sent from England a fleet of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and carrying upwards of one hundred persons, destined to begin a settlement. They were left under Ralph Lane, on Roanoke Island. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold in South America, led these adventurers to employ their time in a fruitless search for it here. In 1586, they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who, at their request, conveyed them back to England. Lane carrying home a quantity of tobacco, the Indian custom of smoking it was adopted by Raleigh, a man of gayety and fashion, and introduced at court.

Soon after Drake departed, Grenville again arrived with provisions for the settlement. Finding it abandoned, he left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. In 1587, three other ships were sent to the same place; but the men who had been left could not be found, having probably been murdered by the savages. On board these ships came John White, who had been appointed governor of the colony, eighty-nine men, and seventeen women. Of the women, one

was Eleanor Dare, daughter of White, and wife of one of the magistrates. Soon after her arrival, she gave birth to a female child, which was named Virginia, and was the first child born in the United States of English parents. When the ships were ready to depart for England, the emigrants, becoming gloomy with apprehensions, besought White to return home, and hasten back with reinforcements and supplies. He at first refused to desert his post, but, after much importunity, consented and embarked. Soon after his arrival in England, Raleigh fitted out two vessels, in which he set sail for America, but was compelled to return; and all England being then frantic with consternation at the approach of the Spanish Armada, the colony at Roanoke was forgotten. And when the Armada was defeated, Raleigh, having exhausted his means, was unable to send assistance. Nearly three years elapsed before White returned; and when he arrived at Roanoke, not one of the colonists was there. Whether they had been killed or captured by the Indians, or had voluntarily sought refuge from starvation among them, are questions which the imagination has been tasked to decide, but tasked in vain. It is stated that Raleigh, at his own charge, sent five several times to search for his lost colonists; but all search proved fruitless.

These successive misfortunes withdrew, for several years, the attention of the English from these distant regions. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold made a voyage to America. Instead of taking the circuitous, but usual route, by the West India Islands, he steered directly west from England, shortening the voyage at least one third, and arrived, in May, on the coast of Massachusetts. He discovered a headland, and taking a great quantity of codfish near it, called it Cape Cod. Proceeding southwardly, he passed Gay Head, entered Buzzard's Bay, and upon an island within it erected a small fort, the ruins of which were visible so late as 1797. After trading a while with the Indians, he returned home.

The report made by Gosnold revived the spirit of adventure. In 1603 and 1605, two voyages were made in the same direction, and Penobscot Bay, Massachusetts Bay, and the rivers between them, were discovered. The accounts given by the last navigators confirmed the report of Gosnold, and led to a more extensive scheme of colonization than had yet been attempted.

Of this scheme, Mr. Richard Hakluyt was the most active promoter. By his persuasion an association of gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, was formed for the purpose of sending colonies to America. Upon their application to King James, he, by letters patent, dated in 1606, divided the country of Virginia, then considered as extending from the southern boundary of North Carolina to the northern boundary of Maine, into two districts, and constituted two companies for planting colonies within them.

The southern district he granted to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, chiefly resident in London, and therefore styled the London Company. This district extended northward to the southern boundary of Maryland. The northern district he granted to Thomas Hanham and his associates, who were styled the Plymouth Company, probably because the principal members resided in that city. This district extended from near the southern boundary of New York to the Bay of Passamaquoddy, a region intervening between the two districts, more than one hundred and fifty miles in width. The two districts were called South and North Virginia. The members of these companies were principally merchants: their objects were the extension of commerce and the discovery of mines of the precious metals, which were supposed to abound in North as well as South America.

For the supreme government of the colonies, a grand council was instituted, the members of which were to reside in England, and to be appointed by the king. The subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council in each colony, the members of which were to be appointed by the grand council in England,

and to be governed by its instructions. To the emigrants and their descendants were secured the enjoyment of all the rights of denizens or citizens, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as if they had remained or been born in England.

By the French, many more voyages than have been mentioned were made to the coast of North America. The Banks of Newfoundland were more frequently visited by the hardy fishermen of Brittany and Normandy than by those of any other nation. In 1534, James Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence; and in subsequent voyages ascended it to Montreal, and built a fort at Quebec. In 1604, Henry IV. of France granted to the Sieur de Monts all the country between the 40th and the 46th degrees of north latitude, or between New Jersey and Nova Scotia. By virtue of this grant, a settlement was made on the south-eastern side of the Bay of Fundy, at a place then, by the French, named Port Royal, since, by the English, Annapolis.

In 1608, Samuel Champlain, sent out by a company of merchants at Dieppe and St. Malo, founded Quebec. The next year, he, with two other Europeans, joined a party of savages in an expedition against the Iroquois, ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name. The settlements in Nova Scotia, then called Acadie, and in Canada, continually received additions to their population from France; the French settlers mingled with the savages, and obtained over them an influence greater than those of any other nation; and always when war existed between England and France, and sometimes when it did not, incursions were made from those settlements and the adjoining wilderness into New England and New York. In these expeditions the homes of the frontier settlers were often burnt, their cattle killed, or driven away, and themselves, their wives and children massacred.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

DURING the 15th and 16th centuries, Europe witnessed a revolution in the manners, opinions, and pursuits of its inhabitants, greater and more beneficial than ever occurred in the same period of time. The earliest and most efficient cause of this revolution was the discovery of the art of printing. How efficient this cause must have been, may be imagined by reflecting to what depth of ignorance the world would soon sink were that discovery entirely and irretrievably lost. It carried light to the dark regions of the intellect, excited it to intense activity, and multiplied rapidly and incessantly the number of those who claimed the privilege of becoming actors on the theatre of the world. The Reformation followed as a necessary effect, and became itself a cause propelling, with a more rapid motion, and extending, the revolution which had begun. The mariner's compass, which, although discovered about the year 1300, was, for a long time, but little used, offered to instructed reason and daring enterprise the means of safely and speedily visiting distant regions, and revived and gave energy to the spirit of commerce. It was fortunate for this part of America that, when the Old World began to pour itself upon the New, mankind had advanced, and was advancing, in the career of improvement, and that our shores were first settled by emigrants from that country in which improvement had been greatest.

The members of the London Company consisted principally of merchants; but connected with them were many distinguished noblemen and several elegant scholars. In December, 1606, they despatched three ships, having on board one hundred and five emigrants, destined to begin a settlement in South Virginia. Christopher Newport commanded the squad-

ron, and he was accompanied by Captain Gosnold and other distinguished individuals; some allured by curiosity, and some by the prospect of gain, to visit a country said to be inhabited by a new race of beings, and to abound in silver and gold.

A sealed box was delivered to Newport, with directions that it should not be opened until twenty-four hours after the emigrants had landed in America. During the voyage, violent dissensions arose among the principal personages on board the squadron. Of most of them John Smith, one of the adventurers, incurred the distrust and hatred. His superior talents, and the fame he had acquired by his exploits in war, excited their envy, and probably caused him to claim for himself greater deference than they were willing or bound to yield.

In his youth he was a merchant's apprentice. At the age of fifteen, he quitted his master, travelled in Europe and Egypt, and enlisted in the army of Austria, then at war with the Turks. As a reward for a successful stratagem, he received the commission of captain; and afterwards, in three personal combats with Turkish champions, he was victorious, at each time killing his adversary. Being taken prisoner in a subsequent battle, he was compelled to labor as a slave; he killed his master, escaped, and, after again wandering over Europe, returned to England, became acquainted with Gosnold, and was easily persuaded to embark in an expedition to a country he had not yet visited, in search of new scenes and new adventures. While yet at sea, he was accused of an intention to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and upon this absurd accusation was put in confinement.

The place of their destination was the disastrous position at Roanoke. A storm fortunately drove them to the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which they entered on the 26th of April, 1607. Discovering a large and beautiful river, they gave it the name of James River, ascended it, and on its banks had several inter-

views with the natives. In one of these a chief came forward, holding in one hand his bow and arrows, in the other a pipe of tobacco, and demanded the cause of their coming. They made signs of peace, and were received as friends. Paspaha, another chief, when informed of their wish to settle in the country, offered them as much land as they wanted, and sent them a deer for their entertainment.

On the 13th of May, they debarked at a place which they called Jamestown. On opening the sealed box, it was found to contain the names of the council and instructions for their guidance. In the list were the names of Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield, and Newport. Wingfield was elected president, and a vote was passed excluding Smith from his seat at the board. He was, however, released from confinement.

The whole country was then a wilderness, in which a few Indians roamed in pursuit of their enemies, or of wild beasts for food. In color they were darker than the European, but not so black as the negro. They possessed all the vices and virtues of the savage state; were cunning in stratagem, ferocious in battle, cruel to their conquered enemies, kind and hospitable to their friends. They had no written language; they were unacquainted with the use of iron and the other metals; their weapons of war were a bow and arrows, a stone hatchet, which they called a tomahawk, and a club. They lived principally by hunting, but sometimes cultivated small patches of Indian corn.

While the men were busy in felling timber, and providing freight for the ships, Newport, Smith, and twenty others ascended James River, and visited the Indian chieftain Powhatan, at his principal seat, just below the present site of Richmond. The savages murmured at this intrusion of strangers; but Powhatan restrained and soothed them. About the middle of June, the ships returned to England, leaving the emigrants to contend with difficulties greater than they had foreseen. They were weak in numbers, without habits of industry, and surrounded by distrust-

ing neighbors. The summer heats were intolerable, and the moisture of the climate generated disease. At one time, nearly all were sick. Provisions were scanty; much of what they had brought with them was damaged; and it was too late to sow or plant. Before autumn, fifty perished, and among them Gosnold, the projector of the settlement.

These dreadful distresses led them to reflect upon their situation and conduct. Having become sensible of their injustice to Smith, they had, at his request, granted him a trial, which resulted in an honorable acquittal. His personal talents and activity now enforced, in adversity, the same regard and deference which, in prosperous times, are yielded only to official station. By his advice, a fort was erected to protect them from the attacks of the Indians. To procure provisions and explore the country, he made frequent and distant excursions into the wilderness. In one of these, he seized an Indian idol made of skins stuffed with moss, for the redemption of which as much corn was brought him as he required. Sometimes he procured supplies by caresses, sometimes by purchase, and when these means failed of success, he scrupled not to resort to stratagem and violence.

At this period, the South Sea, now called the Pacific Ocean, had been discovered; and the colonists were instructed to seek a communication with it by ascending some stream which flowed from the north-west. This instruction must have been given on the presumption that no great distance intervened between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Chickahominy flowed from the north-west; and Smith, to fulfil those instructions, ascended it as far as it was navigable with boats, and then proceeded on foot. He was surprised by Indians, two of his men killed, and himself made prisoner. His exulting captors conducted him in triumph through several towns, to their king, Powhatan. At the end of six weeks, their chiefs assembled to deliberate on his fate. They decided that he

should die. He was led forth to execution; his head was placed upon a stone, and an Indian stood near with a club, the instrument of death. At this instant, Pocahontas, the young and favorite daughter of the king, appeared, and rushing between the executioner and the prisoner, folded his head in her arms, and entreated her father to spare his life. Powhatan relented, directed Smith to be conducted to his wigwam, or hut, and soon afterwards sent him, escorted by twelve guides, to Jamestown.

On his arrival there, he found the number of settlers reduced to thirty-eight; and most of these had determined to abandon the country. By persuasions and threats, he induced a majority to relinquish their design. The remainder, more resolute, went on board a small vessel in the river. Against these he instantly directed the guns of the fort, when, to avoid the danger of being sunk, they hastened back to their companions.

Sustaining now a high reputation among the Indians, he obtained from them occasional supplies of provisions, which preserved the colony from famine. The Princess Pocahontas, also, remembering him whose life she had saved, frequently sent him such articles as were most needed. The settlers were thus enabled to subsist until Captain Newport, who had returned to England, again arrived at Jamestown, with a quantity of provisions, and one hundred and twenty persons, who came to reside in the colony.

All danger being in appearance over, the emigrants no longer submitted to the authority nor listened to the advice of Smith. Disorder and confusion followed; and about this time, that raging passion for gold, which first impelled Europeans to resort to this country, was again excited. In a stream north of Jamestown, a glittering earth was discovered, which was supposed to be gold dust. "Immediately," says Stith, in his History, "there was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load

gold." And notwithstanding the remonstrances of Smith, a ship was freighted with this worthless commodity and sent to England.

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, and unwilling to be idle, Smith set out upon an expedition to explore the coasts of Chesapeake Bay. After an absence of seven weeks, in which he examined all the inlets and rivers as far as the mouth of the Rappahannock, he returned to Jamestown to procure a supply of provisions. He found the people discontented and turbulent. Believing that the president had squandered the public property, they deposed him, and having in vain urged Smith to accept the office, they elected his friend, Mr. Scrivener, vice-president.

Remaining but three days at Jamestown, he again departed to complete his undertaking. He visited all the countries on both shores; he ascended the Potomac, and passed Mount Vernon, and the site of Washington city; he traded with some tribes, fought with others, and left among all the highest admiration of his own character and of that of his nation. In both voyages he sailed nearly three thousand miles. He published an account of the tribes he visited, and of the territory he explored, and constructed a map of the country, upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed.

Upon his return, he was chosen president, and consented to accept the office. Under his administration habits of industry and subordination were formed, and peace and plenty smiled upon the colony. Again, in 1608, Newport arrived at Jamestown, and brought with him seventy emigrants, among whom were two females, Mrs. Forrest, and Ann Burras, her maid. Soon after, the latter was married to John Laydon; and this, it is said, was the first marriage of Europeans celebrated in Virginia.

The attention of the English nation, and especially of many of its eminent men, had been attracted to the colony, and they felt a lively sorrow for its misfortunes. Many more of the gentry and nobility, anxious for its

success, became members of the company; and in 1609, at the request of the corporation, a new charter was granted. This gave to the stockholders themselves, instead of the king, the power to choose the grand council in England. This council were empowered to appoint a governor and other necessary officers, and to make laws for the government of the colony, not contrary to the laws of England. The colonists were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural subjects. And to the corporation was granted the absolute property of all the land on the coast, two hundred miles north, and the same distance south, of Point Comfort, and "up into the land, throughout, from sea to sea, west and north-west."

The grand council appointed Lord Delaware governor, and despatched to Virginia nine ships, carrying five hundred emigrants, under the command of Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was commissioned to administer the affairs of the colony until the arrival of Lord Delaware. The vessel carrying the three commissioners was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas; another was sunk; and seven only arrived in Virginia.

A great part of those who came in these vessels "were unruly sparks, packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home. Many were poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes, and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." They brought information that the old charter was abrogated; and as no one in the settlement had authority from the new corporation, they assumed the power of disposing of the government, conferring it sometimes on one and sometimes on another.

This state of confusion had not continued long, when Smith, with the decision that belongs to vigorous minds, determined that his own authority was not legally revoked until the arrival of the new commission, and resumed, with a strong hand, the reins of government. He boldly imprisoned the leaders of the

sedition, and restored for a time regularity and obedience.

The Indians, jealous of the increasing power of the strangers who had invaded their country, concerted a plot to destroy them. Pocahontas, the constant friend of Virginia, hastened, in a dark and dreary night, to Jamestown, and informed Smith of his danger. Measures of precaution were instantly taken. The Indians, perceiving that their design was discovered, again brought presents of peace to the English.

Soon after, Smith, having received by accident a severe wound, returned to England to procure the aid of a surgeon. Disastrous consequences followed. The Indians, learning that the man whom they dreaded most had left the colony, attacked it with united forces. A dreadful famine ensued. To such extremity were the settlers reduced, that they devoured the skins of the horses, the bodies of the Indians whom they had killed, and at last those of their own companions, who had sunk under accumulated miseries. These tremendous sufferings were recollected long afterwards with horror, and the period was remembered and distinguished by the name of the "STARVING TIME."

In six months, the colony, from five hundred persons, was reduced to sixty; and these were exceedingly feeble and dejected. In this situation they were visited by those who were shipwrecked at Bermudas. All immediately determined to return to England. For this purpose the remnant of the colony embarked on board the ships just arrived, and sailed down the river. Fortunately they were met by Lord Delaware, who, having brought with him a supply of provisions, persuaded them to return to Jamestown.

All were impressed with a deep sense of the dispensations of Providence, in which grievous sufferings had been tempered by saving mercies. After the solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read. Faction was hushed by the lenity of his administration and the dignity of his virtues. The colonists, who, it must be remembered,

were but servants of the company, performed their tasks with alacrity. In the morning, they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country; next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The appointed hours of labor were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon until four. Affluence began to return, and the Indians were again taught to respect and fear the English.

But the health of Lord Delaware failing, he returned to England, and was soon after succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. The colony at this time consisted of about two hundred men. The new governor, on the recurrence of disorderly conduct, proclaimed martial law, which was rigidly enforced. He wrote home for new recruits. "Let me," said he, "commend unto your carefulness the pursuit of this business. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil." Sir Thomas Gates was sent over with six ships, three hundred emigrants, and one hundred cattle; and he was also appointed to succeed Governor Dale.

In the same year, (1612,) a new charter was granted, by which it was ordained that quarterly general courts, or meetings of all the stockholders, should be held in London, in which all affairs of importance should be determined, and weekly meetings for the transaction of common business. A license to draw lotteries was also granted; and from this source twenty-nine thousand pounds were received into the treasury of the company.

In 1612, Captain Argal, having learned, while on a trading voyage to the Potomac, that Pocahontas was in the neighborhood, visited and persuaded her to go on board his vessel. He treated her respectfully, but detained and carried her to Jamestown. He presumed that the possession of Pocahontas would give the English an ascendancy over Powhatan, who was known to feel a strong attachment to his daughter. In this,

however, he was disappointed. Powhatan, noble by nature, felt indignant at this instance of treachery in the English. He offered a ransom for his daughter, but refused to consent to any terms of peace until she was restored.

During her stay at Jamestown, her beauty, her artless simplicity, and those graces of manner which ever accompany dignity of mind and innocence of heart, won the affections of Mr. Rolfe, a young and respectable planter. He succeeded in producing a reciprocal attachment. They were married with the consent of Powhatan. The consequence of this marriage was peace with her father, and with all the tribes who stood in awe of his power.

Rolfe and his princess made a voyage to England, where she was received by the king and queen with the attention due to her rank. For her virtues, and her disinterested services, she was universally beloved and respected. She died when about to return to America, leaving one son, from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.

In 1613, Captain Argal was sent, with a naval force, to drive the French from the settlements they had begun in Acadie, which were considered to be within the limits of North Virginia. He accomplished the object of the expedition, and, when returning, visited a Dutch trading establishment on Hudson's River, which was also within the same limits. The governor, too feeble to resist, acknowledged himself subject to the king of England.

The king, in his instructions given at the time of the first emigration to Jamestown, directed that all the land should be owned in common, and that the produce of the labor of all should be deposited in the public stores. In such circumstances no one would labor with the same steadiness and animation as if he, and he alone, was to possess and enjoy the fruit of his industry. A different regulation was now adopted. To each inhabitant three acres of land were assigned in full property, and he was permitted to employ, in

the cultivation of it, a certain portion of his time. The effects of this alteration were immediately visible, and demonstrated so clearly its wisdom, that, soon after, another assignment of fifty acres was made; and the plan of working in a common field, to fill the public stores, was entirely abandoned.

Since the year 1611, the colony had been governed by martial law, which was administered by Deputy-Governor Argal with so much rigor as to excite universal discontent. The council in England, listening to the complaints of the Virginians, appointed Mr. Yearly governor, and instructed him to inquire into and redress their wrongs. He arrived in April, 1619, and immediately, to the great joy of the inhabitants, called a general assembly of the colony. It met at Jamestown, on the 19th of June, and was composed of delegates from the boroughs, then amounting to seven. They, the governor, and the council, sat and deliberated in the same apartment, and acted as one body. The laws they enacted could not be of force until ratified by the company in England; but this participation in the legislative power gratified the colonists; they forgot their griefs, and ceased to complain. Two years afterwards, the company passed an ordinance establishing a written constitution for the colony. It provided that the governor and a permanent council should be appointed by the corporation; that a general assembly should be convened yearly, to consist of the council and two delegates from each of the boroughs or plantations. No law was to be valid unless approved by the governor and ratified by the company. With great liberality it was also conceded that no regulations of the company should bind the colonists unless ratified by the general assembly.

Emigrants continued to arrive frequently from England, but nearly all were men, who came for the purpose of obtaining wealth, and intended eventually to return. With such views, they were evidently less useful to the colony than if they should be induced to regard it as their home, and as the abode

of their posterity. To produce this desirable attachment to the country, ninety girls of spotless character were sent over, at the expense of the company, in the year 1620, and sixty more in the subsequent year. The company required that, when married to planters not in the service of the corporation, the husbands should pay the expense of transportation, which was first established at one hundred, and afterwards at one hundred and fifty, pounds of tobacco, then selling at three shillings the pound; and it was ordained that debts contracted for wives should be paid in preference to all others.

About the same time, another measure of a different character was adopted. The company were ordered by the king to transport to Virginia one hundred idle and dissolute persons then in custody for their offences. They were distributed through the colonies, and employed as laborers. Being removed from the temptations which surrounded them in England, and furnished with constant employment, they abandoned their vicious courses, and many became useful and respectable citizens. Afterwards, banishment to the plantations was not an uncommon punishment for minor offences.

As the company defrayed all the expenses of settling the colony, they reserved the exclusive right of carrying on its commerce. In 1620, they relinquished this monopoly. The free competition produced by this change was advantageous to the colony; but in the absence of restriction, a traffic was introduced disgraceful to civilization, and now afflicting the soul with the constant fear of the terrible visitations of retributive justice. A Dutch vessel brought into James River twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves.

It is a fact, of sufficient importance to be recorded, that the first attempt to cultivate cotton, now the principal article of export from the republic, was made in the year 1621. The seeds were planted as an experiment, and their "plentiful coming up" was a subject of interest both in America and in England.

The colony was now in the full tide of prosperity. Its numbers had greatly increased, and its settlements were widely extended. At peace with the Indians, it reposed in perfect security, and enjoyed without alloy all the happiness which its fortunate situation and favorable prospects afforded. It was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune, sudden, distressing, and terrible.

Powhatan, the friend of the English, was dead. Opecancanough, a chief endowed with all those qualities which give rank and reputation to an Indian warrior, had succeeded him in his influence and power, but he was the secret and implacable enemy of the whites. By his art and eloquence, he united all the neighboring tribes in the horrible design of destroying every man, woman, and child in the English settlements.

The plan was concerted and matured with all the secrecy and dissimulation which characterize the savages. While intent on their plot, they visited the settlements, lodged in the houses, bought arms of the English, and even borrowed their boats to enable them to accomplish their barbarous purpose. On the evening before the fatal day, they brought them presents of game, and the next morning came freely among them, behaving as usual. Suddenly, precisely at mid-day, the blow fell, at the same instant, upon the unsuspecting settlers; and three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children were victims to savage treachery and cruelty.

The massacre would have been more extensive had not a domesticated Indian, residing in one of the villages, revealed the plot to his master, whom he had been solicited to murder. Information was instantly given to some of the nearest settlements, and just in time to save them from the calamity which fell upon the others.

The horrid spectacle before them roused the English from repose to vengeance. A vindictive and exterminating war succeeded. The whites were victorious,

destroying many of their enemies, and obliging the remainder to retire far into the wilderness. But their own number melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. In 1624, out of nine thousand persons, who had been sent from England, but eighteen hundred existed in the colony.

These continual misfortunes furnished to King James a pretext for interfering in the concerns of the company. It contained many men of rank and talents, some belonging to the court and some to the country party; and they were accustomed, in their meetings, to discuss the measures of the crown with all the freedom of a popular body. Several attempts which he had made to control the decisions of the company had been defeated. He now gave them notice that, unless they should surrender their charter, a suit would be instituted to dissolve the corporation. They refused to surrender it; a suit was instituted; and the court of King's Bench, in 1624, dissolved the corporation, and all its powers were revested in the crown.

The king thereupon issued a special commission appointing a governor and twelve councillors, to whom the entire direction of the colony was committed. He began to prepare a legislative code for the colony, but died before he had completed it. His successor, Charles I., appointed Sir George Yeardly governor, to whom, and to his council, he committed the whole legislative and executive power, and instructed them to conform exactly to such orders as should be received from him. They were empowered to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to the public use; and to transport accused colonists to England, to be punished there for crimes committed in Virginia. The king also exacted a monopoly of the trade in tobacco,—almost the only article of export from the colony,—and appointed agents to whose management it was entirely intrusted.

Under such arbitrary regulations the people lived and suffered until the year 1636. Sir John Harvey then held the office of governor. He was haughty, rapacious, unfeeling, and fitted, by his disposition, to exercise power in the spirit of his instructions. The council "thrust him out of his office," and appointed Captain John West to officiate until the king's pleasure should be known. And they sent to England two deputies to represent to the king the grievances of the colony and the governor's misconduct. Harvey consented to go, also, and there meet his accusers.

The king, indignant that his officer should be thus treated by his colonial subjects, received the deputies sternly, and sent back the governor invested with all his former powers. He was, however, superseded, in 1639, by the appointment of Sir Francis Wyatt; and in 1641, Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor. He was respectable for his rank and abilities, and distinguished by his integrity and the mildness of his temper. At this time, dissension existed between the king and parliament; and soon after the civil war began, which, continuing several years, ended in the execution of the king, and the establishment of the commonwealth, with Cromwell for Protector of its liberties. During this war, many Cavaliers, as the adherents of the king were called, sought refuge from danger in Virginia, or repaired thither after being ruined by misfortunes and casualties inseparable from civil commotions. Nearly the whole population entertained the same religious opinions as themselves, and they found in Berkeley a man of courtly manners and congenial political sentiments; and so popular was he with all the people, and so judicious and correct was his administration of public affairs, that the colonists, through all the troubles in England, adhered to the royal cause, and continued faithful even after the king was dethroned, and his son driven into exile.

Virginia was not free from the intolerant spirit of the age. In 1643, it was specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately,

except in conformity to the constitutions of the Church of England, and non-conformists were banished from the colony. Certain ministers of Boston, having come by invitation to Virginia, to preach to Puritan congregations there, were silenced by those in authority, and compelled to leave the country.

In 1649, Charles the First was beheaded, and the house of lords suppressed. The house of commons, now exercising the supreme power in England, was not disposed to permit its authority to be questioned in Virginia. In 1652, a fleet, under Sir George Ayscue, was sent to reduce it to obedience. Berkeley collected a force to resist this fleet; but foreseeing that resistance would be unavailing, he agreed to capitulate, and obtained the most favorable terms for himself and the colony. Retiring from all public affairs, he lived beloved and respected by the people. Richard Bennett, who, under the administration of Berkeley, had been compelled to leave Virginia, and who had now returned in the fleet, was chosen governor by the assembly.

So long as the house of commons and the Protector retained the control over England, Virginia appears to have been ruled by governors professing the same political principles; yet no public demonstration was made of attachment to Cromwell. Churchmen and Cavaliers, unwilling to remain where their adversaries in religion as well as politics reigned triumphant, continued to flock to the colony. Virginia was, therefore, less favored by the paramount government than New England, whose inhabitants, like the predominant party in Great Britain, were republicans in politics and Puritans in religion. At length the sudden death of Governor Matthews, in March, 1660, afforded the adherents of the royal cause a favorable opportunity, which they gladly seized, to invite Berkeley to resume the authority of governor. He was elected by the assembly, accepted the office, and Charles II., who was restored and proclaimed king a few months afterwards, immediately sent him a royal commission.

He was instructed to summon an assembly, and to give assurance of the king's intention to grant pardon to all who were not attainted by parliament, provided all acts passed during the rebellion, derogating from the obedience due to the king, should be repealed.

The assembly, when met, proceeded to revise the laws, assigning, as a motive, their wish "to expunge all unnecessary acts, and chiefly such as might keep in memory their forced deviation from his majesty's obedience." The Church of England was established by law, and no one was permitted to preach unless ordained by some bishop in England. The day of the execution of Charles I. was ordered to be kept as a fast, and the anniversaries of the birth and of the restoration of Charles II. to be celebrated as holy-days. Other laws, regulating the interior affairs of the colony, were passed; among which was one to encourage the manufacture of silk. Every person was enjoined to plant a number of mulberry trees proportioned to his quantity of land; and a premium of fifty pounds of tobacco was promised for every pound of silk manufactured.

An act was also passed ordaining that all Quakers should be banished from the colony; and that those who should obstinately persist in returning, should be prosecuted as felons. In 1663, John Porter, one of the burgesses, was represented to the assembly as being "loving to the Quakers." He confessed he was well affected towards them; upon which the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to him, which he refused to take, and was expelled.

Charles II., with characteristic ingratitude, neglected the interests of the colony which had been faithful to him beyond all others. He imposed restrictions upon its commerce, and granted to his favorites large tracts of land which belonged to the colony. Exorbitant taxes were levied, and the avails appropriated to pay extravagant salaries, or foolishly squandered. The people became discontented and clamorous; and rumors of Indian hostilities, from which the government took

no active measures to defend them, induced them to take up arms, which they felt as well disposed to use to relieve themselves from oppression as to resist or attack the savages.

In this state of excitement and alarm, the people looked around for a leader; and their attention was soon fixed upon Nathaniel Bacon. He was young, had been educated in London as a lawyer, had recently emigrated to Virginia, and established himself on a plantation near Richmond. He soon became distinguished for his eloquence, activity, and talents; and though "popularly inclined," and for that reason distrusted by the governor, was, after a short residence in the colony, appointed a member of the council. He partook of the general excitement, mingled with the people, and was chosen their leader. He immediately communicated to the governor all the circumstances attending his election, and requested that a commission might be issued confirming it. In expectation of receiving this commission, he collected about six hundred men, and marched at their head against the Indians. But the governor, instead of granting the commission, issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse, on pain of being punished as traitors; and he moreover summoned to his standard such men as were yet faithful, and pursued them. He had not proceeded far when intelligence overtook him of a formidable insurrection in the neighborhood of Jamestown. He returned to the capital, and there found that the inhabitants of the central and lower counties had risen in arms, and, under the command of Ingram and Walklate, were exercising the powers of government.

The haughty spirit of the governor was compelled to stoop to concession. He granted some of the demands of the insurgents, dissolved the old assembly, which had become unpopular, and issued writs for a new election. In this election, the malcontents were successful, — a strong proof that the people were suffering under oppression, — and Bacon himself was

chosen a member from Henrico. In the mean time, he had surprised some of the suspected Indians, and made them prisoners; and hearing, on his return, of the insurrection at Jamestown, he left his army, and set out, with a few followers, for that place, hoping to procure the recall of the proclamation. On his way, he was taken prisoner, and sent as such to Jamestown.

The new assembly was then in session, and Bacon was surrounded by his friends. The proclamation was recalled, and Bacon admitted to his seat in the council; but the governor refused to grant him the commission of general. Fearing treachery, he secretly withdrew, collected and harangued the people, and in a few days reappeared in the city at the head of five hundred men. The governor, advancing towards the troops, and baring his breast, cried, "A fair mark! shoot!" "I will not," said Bacon, "hurt a hair of your head, nor of any man's; we are come for the commission, to save our lives from the Indians." The governor at length yielded, signed the commission, and Bacon and his followers again prepared to march against the savages.

A transient calm succeeded; but when the troops were on the point of marching, the wounded pride of the governor impelled him to issue another proclamation, denouncing Bacon as a traitor. Bacon then requested the people to meet in convention at Williamsburg, to devise means to rescue the colony from the tyranny of Berkeley. The convention met, many distinguished men attending it, and an oath was taken by all present to assist General Bacon, not only in his war with the Indians, but against all his enemies. He and his troops then marched into the country of the savages, met them near the falls of James River, attacked and defeated them.

In the mean time, the governor, who had retired to Accomac, gained, by stratagem, possession of several armed vessels which lay in the river, and collected a force of six hundred men, with which he resolved to recover his former authority. He entered the capital

without difficulty; but Bacon, returning from his Indian expedition, compelled him to abandon it. He then set it on fire, and it was wholly consumed. Berkeley returned to Accomac. Bacon dismissed his followers, exacting from them a promise to return to his standard on the first notice of any new attempt of the governor to disturb the public tranquillity. Shortly afterwards he was taken sick and died; and, no person being found among the insurgents qualified to supply his place as the general of an army or as a popular leader, they laid down their arms and dispersed.

Governor Berkeley again assumed the supreme authority, and finding the rebels in his power, pursued them with unsparing rigor. His nature seems to have been changed; nothing gave him so much delight as the sufferings of his defenceless victims. Many were tried by courts martial and executed. The assembly at length interfered, praying him to stop the work of death, and enacted laws which gradually restored tranquillity. Soon after, Sir William returned to England, expecting to receive the applause of his sovereign, with whom he had been a favorite; but he received censure for his cruelty, which inflicted so deep a wound as to cause his death a few months after he landed. His authority devolved upon Colonel Jeffreys, the lieutenant-governor, by whom peace was concluded with the Indians; and thus was removed one of the causes which prevented the prosperity of the colony.

Just after the execution of Charles I., a grant was made to a company of Cavaliers of that part of Virginia called the Northern Neck; in 1669, this grant was surrendered, and another issued for the same territory to Lord Culpepper, who had purchased the shares of the company; and in 1673, Charles II., with thoughtless prodigality, made to the same lord, and to the earl of Arlington, the lavish grant of "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia," for the full term of thirty-one years. These grants were among the causes

of the discontent which preceded Bacon's rebellion. Lord Culpepper, represented as one of the most cunning and covetous men in England, was afterwards appointed governor for life, and arrived in the colony early in the year 1680. He persuaded the assembly, at its first session, to pass an act imposing a perpetual export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, the proceeds to be applied to the support of government, and to be accounted for, not to the assembly, but to the king. Thus was the colony deprived of the strongest safeguard of liberty, and the most efficient check to the tyranny of rulers.

Lord Culpepper was not less careful of his own interests than of those of the crown. The salary of governor was before one thousand pounds; for him, being a peer, it was doubled; and an additional grant of one hundred and sixty pounds was made for house-rent; amounting in all to ten thousand dollars of our money. After spending the summer thus profitably in Virginia, he embarked, in August, for London.

The price of tobacco, the chief product of the colony, was continually falling; the taxes were continually increasing; of course, distress was felt, and murmurs followed. To remedy the evil of the depreciation of tobacco, the project was discussed of uniting with Maryland in forbidding the planting of it for one year. As this could not be effected in time, bands of people visited different parts of the colony, and destroyed the young plants, when it was too late to replace them. It cannot be doubted that severe suffering drove the people to this violation of law, as absurd as it was criminal. Several of these plant-cutters, as they were called, were tried, convicted, and hung.

At the command of the king, Lord Culpepper returned to the colony; he restored quiet, not by granting relief, but by increase of severity. Again leaving the colony, and neglecting for some time to return to it, his commission was taken from him, and Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed his successor. The Virginians hoped to derive benefit from the change,

but were disappointed. Lord Howard, like most of the governors sent from England to the colonies, came, not to promote the prosperity of his people, but to retrieve his fortune, or to gratify his avarice; and his conduct was in conformity with his views.

But yet Virginia continued to increase in population, and doubtless also in wealth. The climate was agreeable, the land fertile, and various causes impelled various classes of people—the unfortunate, the oppressed, the dissatisfied, and the adventurous—to repair thither. Under James II., many, convicted of political offences, and many rogues and pilferers, were transported to the colony, and indented to the planters. In 1688, the population was estimated at 60,000. Nearly all of these were actual laborers; and labor upon a virgin soil yielded rich returns.

The people, even at this late period, did not live in towns nor villages: a cluster of three houses was not often witnessed. They dwelt in lonely cottages scattered along the streams, or on pathways rather than roads. These cottages were of wood, often of logs, and most of them without windows of glass. Visits were made in boats or on horseback, and the traveller paid his expenses, when he paid any thing, in tobacco. Many parishes were a day's journey in extent; and numbers lived so remote from churches that they seldom visited them. No schools existed; learning was therefore a distinction confined to the few who had been educated in England, or who had parents able and willing to perform the task of teacher. No printing-press was allowed; few books were accessible; no newspaper came daily or weekly to enliven the monotony of the family, to enlighten the intellect, nor to cherish the noble or excite the baneful passions. A few of the planters were wealthy, and, surrounded by indented servants and slaves, lived like feudal barons. The lofty spirit of the colonists often impelled them to resist oppression when it became intolerable; but their veneration for the monarch and the church blinded them to the encroachments of

power, and led them to surrender, without knowing it, the surest safeguards of liberty.

From this time to the commencement of the French war of 1756, an account of which will be found in a subsequent chapter, but few events occurred in the colony of sufficient importance to find a place in history. Its position, remote from the settlements of the French in Canada, and of the Spaniards in Florida, was favorable to its quiet. New England and New York on the one hand, Georgia and the Carolinas on the other, protected it from savage incursions. Its affairs were administered by governors appointed by the king, and representatives chosen by the people.

The laudable efforts of these representatives to arrest the progress of slavery in the colony, ought not to be passed over in silence. Convinced of its inhumanity, and foreseeing the dreadful evils which it must produce, they often passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves; but those who were higher in authority, yielding to the wishes of merchants engaged in the traffic, persisted, with criminal obstinacy, in withholding their assent. England, not America, is responsible for the wretchedness, which her kings and her officers were often importuned, but refused, to avert.

CHAPTER III.

MASSACHUSETTS.

It has already been stated, that to the Plymouth Company, so called because the principal members resided in and near Plymouth in England, was granted all the country between the southern boundary of New York and the Bay of Passamaquoddy. This country, at that time, was called North Virginia. In 1606, the company despatched a ship to make discov-

eries within the limits of its grant. Before the voyage was completed, she was captured by the Spaniards, who claimed the exclusive right of navigating the seas of the new hemisphere. Another ship, afterwards sent for the same purpose, brought back such favorable accounts of the territory, that the company were encouraged to make further efforts.

The next year, two ships, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, were sent over, with forty-five men, to establish a plantation under the presidency of George Popham. Those most active in despatching this expedition were Popham, chief justice of England, and Gorges, governor of Plymouth. The men landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, called their settlement St. George, and the ships returned home. The winter was intensely cold; the emigrants, by an accidental fire, lost a part of their provisions; they grew weary of their solitude; and, in 1608, returned to England, in ships which brought them provisions and succors.

For several years, no more emigrants were sent over; but vessels often came to fish on the coast, and the traffic with the Indians in furs was pursued with profit. In 1614, John Smith, the same who acted a conspicuous part in the settlement of Virginia, engaged, with four others, in a trading adventure on their own account, and sailed to the coast of Maine. While some of the men were fishing, he surveyed the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, carrying on, at the same time, a traffic in furs with the Indians. What is now Cape Ann he called Tragabigzanda, in honor of the Turkish lady to whom he had formerly been a slave; the three small islands, near this cape, he called the Three Turks' Heads, in honor of his victory over the three Turkish champions. He discovered the islands now called the Isles of Shoals, and named them Smith's Isles. On his return to England, after a profitable voyage of seven months' duration, he presented to Prince Charles a map of the country, and gave him such a glowing description of its beauty and

excellence, that he, in the warmth of his admiration, declared it should bear the name of **NEW ENGLAND**.

Smith afterwards made an attempt to transport a colony thither, which was unsuccessful; and New England might long have remained the abode of wild beasts and savages only, had not motives more powerful than the love of gain, or of perilous adventures, impelled men, differing from all others who had been the founders of colonies, to select it as the place of their residence.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, James the First asserted and maintained a despotic power over the consciences of his English subjects. All who presumed to dissent from the creed which he had adopted were persecuted with extreme rigor. In that age, the maxim was avowed by ecclesiastics of all sects, as well as politicians, that uniformity in religion was essential to the repose of society, and that it was therefore the right and duty of every sovereign to preserve it in his dominions, by the exercise of all his powers of restraint and punishment.

But free inquiry had lately received such an impulse from the success of Luther and the other reformers, that the civil authority was unable to arrest or control it. Various sects arose, dissenting from the established religion, and all distinguished by their democratic tenets respecting church government. Persecuted at home, a small number, belonging to a sect which were afterwards called Independents, determined to remove to Protestant Holland, which had lately, after a long contest, succeeded, by the aid of England, in achieving its independence of Catholic Spain. They composed a congregation, whose pastor was the Rev. John Robinson, and whose ruling elder was William Brewster, who had served as a diplomatist in Holland. Their first attempt to leave their country was resisted and prevented by officers of the government. The next spring, 1608, they assembled on an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, to prepare to embark in the night.

The weather was tempestuous, and while a part were on their way in boats to the ship, a troop of horsemen appeared, and seized the women and children, who had not yet adventured on the surf. But these were released by the magistrates, the men having got beyond their reach, and were permitted to depart with their husbands and fathers. — Such was the beginning of the wanderings of the Pilgrims.

They remained at Amsterdam one year, and then removed to Leyden. In this seat of learning, they were regarded and treated with high respect. In the disputes against Arminianism, Robinson was selected as the champion of Orthodoxy. But their residence there soon became unpleasant. For their support, many were compelled to learn mechanical trades. They feared lest the dissolute manners of the disbanded soldiers and sailors should contaminate their children; and more that, by intermarriages with the Hollanders, the little band should melt away, and the true faith be lost. They heard, in their retreat, of the voyages of Gosnold, Smith, and Hudson; of the enterprises of Raleigh, Delaware, and Gilbert; and resolved to seek, in the New World, a place of abode for themselves alone, where none could molest nor contaminate them, and into which error could not enter.

They despatched Robert Cushman and John Carver to England, to obtain a grant of land from the London or South Virginia Company. These agents carried with them a letter from Robinson and Brewster. "We are well weaned," said they, "from the delicate milk of the mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; we are knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole. It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, and small discontents cause to wish themselves home again."

A grant was promised; but the king declined giving an explicit assurance that they should enjoy their religious opinions unmolested. The most they could

obtain was an intimation that he would forbear to molest them. The agents returned to consult the congregation. They concluded, after deliberation, to proceed. A grant was obtained; and an arrangement was made with merchants of London to furnish the means of transportation. Two small ships were provided; but as these could not carry the whole congregation, it was determined that Robinson and a part of the brethren should remain, for the present, at Leyden, and that Brewster, the elder, should conduct the emigrants. They were to repair to Southampton, in England, and to sail thence for America.

Before their departure from Leyden, a solemn fast was held. "I charge you before God and his blessed angels," said Robinson, in his farewell sermon, "that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. — Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. — I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

Most of the brethren accompanied the emigrants to the harbor, when Robinson, kneeling in prayer by the sea side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. At Southampton, they went on board the *Speedwell* and *Mayflower*, and set sail for America. But they had not gone far from land when some became disheartened, and the captain of the *Speedwell* pretended that his ship was too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, and left behind them all the hesitating and the timid. On the 6th of September, 1620, the *Mayflower*, bearing the most resolute, consisting in the whole of one hundred and two persons, took her final departure for America.

The captain was directed to steer for Hudson's River, near which the land which had been granted to them was situated; but the Dutch, who claimed the exclusive right of trading in that region, had promised him a reward, when in Holland, if he would carry them farther north. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-five days, during which one person died, they entered the harbor of Cape Cod.

Some symptoms of faction having appeared among the servants on the voyage, a solemn voluntary compact, after mature deliberation, was formed, to serve as a basis of government. "In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering, and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

All the men, forty-one in number, signed this first of written constitutions; and John Carver was unanimously chosen governor for the year.

The emigrants were well aware that they were beyond the limits of the South Virginia Company; but it was now too late in the season to put again to sea; and they determined to land at the first place they could find suitable for a settlement. While exploring the coast, they suffered much from cold and fatigue. At length, on the 11th of December, old style, they landed at a place which they called New Plymouth. Here and around all was desolate and gloomy. The ocean, sterile sands, and dismal forests, were the only

objects that met their view. The severity of the cold, greater than they had ever experienced, admonished them to seek protection against it; and their first employment was the erection of huts in the most convenient and sheltered situations. In these miserable abodes they passed the winter — those at least who survived it. By the succeeding spring, one half of their number had perished, exhausted by continual suffering, and by the privation of every worldly comfort which they had been accustomed to enjoy.

Among those who died was John Carver, the governor; William Bradford was chosen his successor. The next spring, other emigrants came, but unprovided with food; and for six months the whole colony was put upon half allowance. Once they were saved from famishing by the benevolence of fishermen off the coast; sometimes they were compelled to pay exorbitant prices for provisions; but, in a few years, their provident care in cultivating the earth secured to them a sufficiency of food.

The Indians who dwelt in the vicinity of the settlement were not numerous. Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoags, whose territory lay between Taunton and Providence Rivers, came to visit them. He had had some intercourse with English traders, and was desirous of opening a traffic with the settlement; and, being at war with the Narragansetts, he was moreover anxious to strengthen himself by securing the friendship of the English. A treaty was made which was long and faithfully observed. Canonius, sachem of the Narragansetts, at first proffered friendship, but afterwards sent a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, in token of defiance. Bradford sent back the skin stuffed with powder and ball, and the sachem, terrified, then solicited peace.

Upon application of the emigrants, the Plymouth Company made them a grant of land; but they were never incorporated by the king. Their voluntary compact was their only charter. To aid their governor, they chose, at first five, and afterwards seven,

assistants. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden; but the remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, emigrated to New Plymouth. In the year 1630, their whole number amounted to three hundred.

In the mean time, the same causes that drove Mr. Robinson and his congregation from England had continued to operate. A class of dissenters, denominated Puritans from the austerity of their manners, and from their claims to superior purity in worship and discipline, had become numerous; and as, by their new mode of worship, they violated the laws of the land, they were prosecuted as criminals. Their faith was confirmed and their zeal increased by their sufferings; and having learned that complete religious freedom was enjoyed at New Plymouth, in America, they naturally directed their thoughts to that country, as a secure asylum from persecution.

In 1628, an association of men of that sect, residing at Dorchester and London, was formed for the purpose of planting a colony in New England, to which they and "the best" of their brethren might repair, and in seclusion and safety worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Among them were Endicott, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pyncheon, Saltonstall, and Bellingham — names afterwards distinguished in early colonial annals. They availed themselves, by purchase, of a grant made by the Plymouth Company to two of their number and others, of a tract of land now constituting a part of the state of Massachusetts, and sent over, under the direction of John Endicott, a small number of people to begin a plantation. These, in September, landed at a place called, by the Indians, Naunkeag, and by themselves, Salem; a place which had before been selected by Roger Conant, an enthusiast of courage and energy.

The next year, they obtained a charter from the crown, by which the usual powers of a corporation were conferred upon the grantees, by the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in

New England." It ordained, that the officers of the company should be a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named, in the first instance, by the crown, and afterwards elected by the corporation. Four stated meetings of all the members were to be held annually, under the denomination of the General Court, at which they were authorized to admit freemen or members, and to make such ordinances or laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, as they might deem expedient. The colonists, and their descendants, were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born English subjects.

At a General Court, held at London, in 1629, the officers prescribed by the charter were elected, and several ordinances were adopted for the government of the company. In their instructions to Endicott, they say, "If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tittle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." Two hundred people were sent over, increasing the number to three hundred, of whom one hundred, dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, removed to Charlestown. Religion was the first object of their care in the country they had adopted. A religious covenant was agreed upon, and a confession of faith drawn up, to which their assent was given. Pastors were chosen, and were, from necessity, installed into their sacred offices by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

Among the emigrants were two, John Brown and Samuel Brown, who insisted upon the use of the liturgy of the Episcopal church. Both were members of the colonial council, and were favorites of the corporation in England. But it was to escape from bishops, and the forms and ceremonies of that church, that they had abandoned their native land. Should not the forests of Massachusetts be safe from the intrusion of the persecuting and dreaded hierarchy?

The charter conferred on the company the right of expelling from the land they had purchased any person whose presence might be deemed prejudicial to its welfare. Endicott sent back the Browns to England in the returning ships.

The ensuing winter was a period of uncommon suffering and sickness. The cold was intense; the houses were unfinished; the provisions were insufficient and unwholesome. Before spring, nearly half their number perished, "lamenting that they could not live to see the rising glories of the faithful."

These calamities had some effect in deterring others from joining them; but the consideration that the general courts were held, the officers elected, and the laws enacted, in London, had still greater influence. It did not comport with the views and feelings of those who disdained to submit to authority in matters of faith, to consent to remove to the New World, and there be governed by laws which they could have no part in enacting. Representations to this effect were made to the company, who resolved that the government and patent should be removed to Massachusetts.

This wise resolution gave such encouragement to emigration, that, in 1630, more than fifteen hundred persons came over, and founded Boston and several adjacent towns. Of these persons, all were respectable, and many were from illustrious and noble families. Having been accustomed to a life of ease and enjoyment, their sufferings, the first year, were great, and proved fatal to many; among others, to the Lady Arabella, who, to use the words of an early historian of the country, "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, in the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of wants, and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed." Mr. Johnson, her husband, overcome with grief, survived her but a short time.

Before December, two hundred perished. On the

24th of that month, the cold became intense. Such a Christmas eve they had never before known. Yet the inclemency of the weather continued to increase. They were almost destitute of provisions, and many were obliged to subsist on clams, muscles, and other shell-fish, with nuts and acorns instead of bread. Many more died; but, in this extremity, that ardor of conviction which impelled them to emigrate, remained in full force, and they met, with a firm, unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them.

One great object of the Puritans, in retiring to the unoccupied regions of New England, was the establishment of a religious commonwealth, as nearly upon the model of that of the Jews as the difference of circumstances would admit. To accomplish this object, they deemed it necessary, and at a general court, held in 1631, they ordained, that none but those who had made a profession of religion, and had become members of some church, should be admitted members of the corporation, or enjoy the privilege of voting.

This law has been too severely censured by those who have lived in more liberal and enlightened times. It contradicted none of the professions of the Puritans. It was in strict accordance with the avowed motives of their emigration. It exhibited less intolerance than was then displayed by every other nation. It violated the rights of no one, for no one could claim a right to come into the territory which they had purchased. And it was doubtless essential — such was then the temper of men's minds — to the repose of their little society.

The colonists had frequently been alarmed, but never yet attacked, by the Indians. These were not, in fact, in a condition to do much injury. A few years before the arrival of the English, a contagious distemper swept away a great number, almost exterminating several tribes. In 1633, the small-pox destroyed many who had survived the pestilence; and the territory contiguous to the first settlements of the English seemed to have been providentially made

vacant for their reception. As an attack from this quarter was, however, possible, and as the French, who had a trading establishment at Acadia, had discovered some symptoms of hostility, it was thought advisable to erect fortifications at Boston and other places, and to open a correspondence with their neighbors at New Plymouth.

So far from the capital had the settlements extended, that it was found extremely inconvenient for all the freemen to assemble and transact the necessary public business. In 1634, the mode of legislation was altered by the general consent of the towns. They delegated to twenty-four representatives the authority granted, by the charter, to the whole body of freemen. This important alteration was adopted the more readily, as the emigrants had been familiar, in their native country, with the representative system. The appellation of General Court, which had been applied to all the freemen when assembled, was now transferred to their representatives.

In 1631, a young clergyman, Roger Williams, arrived at Boston from England, a fugitive from persecution. He was gifted as a preacher, singular in many of his notions, and fond of manifesting his singularities. He, as well as those among whom he came, entertained the opinion that every man had a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; and he had the merit of going even a step farther, believing that the civil authority had no right to enact any law whatever in regard to religion. The people of Salem desired him for their teacher, but were dissuaded by the magistrates of Boston from electing him; and he withdrew to New Plymouth. Upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Shelton, of Salem, he returned to that town, and was then chosen its pastor. His singularities then became important in the eyes of the magistrates of the colony. He had refused, and taught others to refuse, to take the freeman's oath; he caused the church of Salem to

send letters of admonition to the church at Boston, and several others, accusing the magistrates, who were members, of divers offences, and admitting no church to be pure but that of Salem; he persuaded Mr. Endicott to cut the cross out of the king's colors, as being a relic of antichristian superstition; and many of the militia refused to train under colors so mutilated. Much uneasiness and excitement were occasioned by his conduct; and, endeavors made to reclaim him failing of success, he was banished. He repaired at first to Seekonk, and afterwards to Providence, and became the founder of Rhode Island.

In 1635, Massachusetts received from England a large number of inhabitants; and among them came two who afterwards acted conspicuous parts in the affairs of their native country. One was Hugh Peters, who was subsequently a chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other was Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane. The latter was but twenty-five years of age; but, by his show of great humility, his grave and solemn deportment, and his ardent professions of attachment to liberty, he stole the hearts of the Puritans, and, the year after his arrival, was made governor of the colony.

His popularity, however, was transient. During his administration, the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman who was distinguished for her eloquence, and had imbibed the enthusiasm of the age, instituted weekly meetings for persons of her own sex, in which she commented on the sermons of the preceding Sunday, and advanced certain mystical and extravagant doctrines. These spread rapidly among the people, and many became converts.

Governor Vane, with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, two distinguished clergymen, embraced them with ardor; but Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, and a majority of the churches, deemed them heretical and seditious. Great excitement was produced among the people; many conferences were held; public fasts were appointed; a general synod was summoned;

and, after much intemperate discussion, her opinions were determined to be erroneous, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the colony.

Not being again chosen governor, Vane returned in disgust to England, engaged in the civil wars, which soon after afflicted that country, sustained high offices in the republican party, and, after the restoration of Charles II., was accused of high treason, convicted, and executed. Peters pursued a similar career, and met with the same fate.

Among those who belonged to the party of Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson, were the Rev. John Wheelwright, who was her brother, John Clark, and William Coddington. Wheelwright removed beyond the limits of the colony, and founded Exeter, in New Hampshire. Clark and Coddington, intending to settle on Long Island or Delaware Bay, proceeded south; but, meeting with Roger Williams, he persuaded them to remain with him, and they purchased Aquetneck, now called Rhode Island, of the chief of the Narragansetts. At the same time, Williams obtained from the Indians a deed of the land where Providence is situated.

By the settlement of Massachusetts, the attention of emigrants was diverted from the colony of Plymouth, where the soil was less fertile. It nevertheless continued to increase, though slowly, in population. In 1636, a body of laws was adopted by the colony, styled "The General Fundamentals." By the first article, they enact "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free liberties of the freeborn people of England." The opinion then entertained of the relation between the colony and the mother country is here very clearly indicated. There could hardly be a more distinct assertion of entire independence. In 1624, the assembly of Virginia had voted

that the governor should lay no taxes upon that colony without the consent of the general assembly.

The government of Plymouth, which had before carried on a profitable trade with the Indians on Connecticut River, principally in beaver and otter skins, determined, at their solicitation, to establish a trading-house among them. The house was framed at Plymouth, in 1633, and sent round by water. The Dutch, who had a settlement at New York, and claimed the country on that river, heard of this project of the English, and, determining to anticipate them, hastily despatched a party, who built a slight fort at Hartford. When the Plymouth vessel, carrying the frame of the house, came near this fort, "the Dutch stood by their ordnance, threatened hard, but did not shoot." The vessel passed up, and the house was erected at Windsor. This was the first dwelling-house erected within the boundaries of Connecticut. In 1635, about sixty persons, from Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown, intending to settle on Connecticut River, travelled thither through the woods, being fourteen days on their journey. Those from Dorchester settled at Windsor, those from Watertown at Wethersfield, and those from Newtown at Hartford. The next year, Hooker and Stone, ministers of Newtown, with their whole church and congregation, removed to Hartford. And William Pynchon and others, going from Roxbury, settled Springfield. Plymouth complained of this interference of the people of Massachusetts, and the emigrants from Dorchester paid them a compensation for their claims. In 1637, Eaton, Davenport, Hopkins, and others, from London, arrived at Boston, in search of a place for a settlement. They selected Quinmipiack, now New Haven, removed thither the next year, and they, and those who afterwards joined them, formed, for several years, a separate colony.

The rapid progress of the English settlements excited the jealousy of the natives. They had welcomed, without fear, the emigrants who first landed, not an-

ticipating their future encroachments, and desirous of exchanging what to them was almost worthless for articles like those which they had obtained from traders who had visited the coast, and which they valued highly. The experience of a few years convinced them that they must either exterminate these invaders of their country, or be themselves exterminated.

Within the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut lived two warlike tribes, the Pequods and Narragansetts. The former were hostile, the latter friendly, to the whites. Between the two tribes an inveterate enmity existed; but the more sagacious and politic Pequods proposed that all animosities should be forgotten, and their united strength directed against their invaders, before they had become too strong to be resisted. At first the Narragansetts wavered; but their hatred of the Pequods overpowered the suggestions of policy. They disclosed the proposal to the English, and invited them to join in a war against their common enemy.

The colonies were roused to a sense of their danger. In 1637, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to unite their forces, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. Captain Mason, with eighty men, principally from Connecticut, and three hundred friendly Indians, was immediately sent into the country of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 26th of May, he attacked one of the principal villages, which had been surrounded with palisades. The resistance was brave and obstinate, and the issue of the battle for some time doubtful; but the whites, forcing their way into the enclosure, set fire to the wigwams, and then, retreating a short distance, surrounded the town. Many of the Indians perished in the flames; others were shot in their attempts to flee. Of five or six hundred within the enclosure, but few escaped. The English troops, of whom two were killed and sixteen wounded, returned in triumph to Hartford.

In June, another body of troops, principally from Massachusetts, marched into the enemy's country, sur-

rounded a swamp, into which a party of them had retired, and took eighty captive. Some escaping, they were pursued to another swamp, situated near New Haven, where the whole strength of the tribe was collected. This was, in like manner, surrounded; a sharp contest ensued; but the whites were again victorious. Two hundred Pequods were killed or made prisoners. The remainder fled to the country of the Mohawks. The brilliant success of the English, in this first and short war with the natives, gave the neighboring tribes such an exalted idea of their prowess, that, for nearly forty years, they were neither attacked nor molested.

Ten years had now elapsed since the first settlement was made at Salem. It has been computed that, within that time, twenty-one thousand persons arrived in Massachusetts. The dissenters in England having obtained the ascendancy in the government, all motives for emigration ceased; and it is supposed that, for many years afterwards, more persons returned to England, than came from England to the colonies.

Such, however, were the character and virtues of the emigrants, such the power over difficulties which their resolute minds, and bodies hardened by labor, had imparted to them, that they continued to increase, with astonishing rapidity, in wealth and numbers; and a vote of the house of commons, stating that "the plantations in New England had had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the state," is quoted, by an historian of those times, as an honorable testimony of the high merit of the colonists.

Circumstances and events had already impressed a character upon them, which, though softened in its worst features by the progress of refinement, still distinguishes their descendants. Persecution made them bigots; piety made them moral; poverty made them frugal; incessant toil made them hardy and robust; dreary solitudes made them gloomy and superstitious; their numerous clergy and well-educated leaders made them venerate literature and the sciences.

The dangers apprehended from the Dutch at New

York, from the French in Nova Scotia and Acadia, and from the Indians, led to discussions on the expediency of forming a league between the several colonies of New England. It was first proposed in 1637; in 1638, articles were drawn up, but they were not satisfactory to all; in 1643, a confederacy was formed between Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was agreed that each colony should appoint two commissioners, who should assemble annually, by rotation, in the respective colonies; that the agreement of six should bind the whole; that they should have power to make ordinances relative to intercourse between the English and the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and to other matters of like nature. In case of war, the respective colonies were bound, upon the application of three magistrates of the invaded colony, to furnish aid, Massachusetts a hundred men, and the other three colonies forty-five each. The expenses of a war were to be apportioned according to the number of male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age.

In consequence of this league, the colonies were more respected and feared by their civilized and savage neighbors. Several Indian sachems came in, and submitted to the English. Massachusetts had had a long and troublesome dispute with D'Aulney, the French governor of Acadia, which, in 1644, was adjusted by a treaty concluded between him and Governor Endicott, and afterwards ratified by the commissioners.

When representatives were first chosen, they sat and voted in the same chamber with the assistants. In 1635, when Mr. Hooker applied for permission to form a settlement on Connecticut River, a majority of the assistants voted against granting permission; but a majority of the whole assembly was in favor of it. The representatives contended that a majority of the assistants was not necessary, and that the vote had passed in the affirmative. The assistants claimed to be a distinct branch of the legislature, and contended that it had passed in the negative.

No provision having been made for a case of this kind, an adjournment for a week took place; a public fast was appointed, and the divine direction implored in all the congregations. When the assembly again met, a sermon was preached by Mr. Cotton, which induced the representatives to yield to the claim of the assistants. In 1644, the dispute was renewed, and the assistants were again victorious. The representatives then proposed that the two classes should sit apart, and form distinct bodies; and in this proposition the assistants concurred.

The contest between the king and parliament at length resulted in open war; and the New England colonies, actuated by the same feeling as the Puritans in England, embraced with ardor the cause of the latter. The parliament rewarded this attachment by exempting them from all taxes; and when the supreme authority devolved upon Cromwell, as protector of the liberties of England, they found in him a friend no less sincere and zealous. After the conquest of Ireland, he invited them to return and settle in that country; and, subsequently, having conquered Jamaica, he endeavored to persuade them to remove to that fertile island, and more genial climate. But his arguments and solicitations were unavailing. They enjoyed, in their present abode, complete religious freedom, and that privilege they were unwilling to hazard in pursuit of advantages less essential to their happiness.

Several settlements had been made beyond the present limits of Massachusetts, and within those of New Hampshire. Massachusetts contended that her charter gave her all the territory extending "from the northernmost part of the River Merrimac, and three miles more north, from the sea, and then upon a strait line east and west to each sea;" and that, of course, these settlements were within her limits. In 1641, they submitted to her claim, and placed themselves under her jurisdiction. They were situated at Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton. In 1645, a negro, who had been "fraudulently and injuriously taken and

brought from Guinea," and sold to Mr. Williams of Piscataqua, was demanded by the general court, that he might be sent back to his native country.

About this time, several persons of considerable influence in the colony presented a petition to the general court, complaining of the law which denied civil privileges to all who were not church members, and of the regulations of the churches, by which all who were not members of some church were debarred from the Christian privileges of the Lord's supper for themselves, and of baptism for their children, and praying that members of the churches of England and Scotland might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England. The petition contained expressions disrespectful to the government; and the general court, instead of granting their request, summoned them to appear and answer for contempt. They appeared, and, refusing to make an apology, were fined. They appealed from the sentence of the general court to the commissioners of plantations; but their appeal was not allowed. Apprehensive that efforts would be made in England, by the petitioners, to injure the colony, the general court, through their agent, Mr. Winslow, addressed a discreet but frank remonstrance to parliament, in which they say, "We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter." In the same spirit, Mr. Winslow declared that "if the parliament should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." The committee of parliament replied, "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."

Among those whose attention was, at an early period, attracted to the coast of North America, was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He had been an officer in the

navy of Queen Elizabeth, was intimately connected with Raleigh, and was actuated by the same adventurous spirit. In conjunction with others, he despatched several ships to the coast. He was governor of Plymouth, and displayed so much zeal in establishing the Plymouth Company, that he was chosen its president, and afterwards took an active part in all its transactions. In 1635, this company, then on the point of surrendering its charter, granted to Gorges all the land from Piscataqua to Sagadahoc; and in 1639 this grant was confirmed by Charles I. In compliment to the queen, Gorges called the territory the Province of Maine, that being the name of her estate in France. At this time, several settlements had been made on the coast: at Saco the number of inhabitants was supposed to be about one hundred and fifty; but all were without law and without government until 1636, when the patentee sent over his nephew, William Gorges, to officiate as his deputy. In that year, a court was held at Saco, the first ever held in Maine. In less than two years, William Gorges returned to England, leaving the country destitute of a government.

In 1640, a general court was held at Saco, under the auspices of the lord proprietor. The next year, he incorporated Agamenticus — which he called Georgiana, and which is now called York — as a city, providing for a mayor, aldermen, and municipal courts, although the number of inhabitants was less than three hundred. He soon after died. The people wrote repeatedly to his heirs, but, receiving no answer, they formed themselves into a body politic for the purposes of self-government. In this state of affairs, Massachusetts advanced her claim to the country, upon the same ground that she had claimed New Hampshire, sent commissioners to settle the government, and, in 1652, the several settlements readily submitted to her authority.

A sect of religionists, generally called Quakers, appeared in England in the year 1652. At this time of intense mental activity and intellectual anarchy, George

Fox, the son of a weaver, distinguished even in boyhood for his frankness, inflexibility, and deep religious feeling, perplexed by the claim of every sect to be the only true interpreter of the will of God, after long wrestling with doubt and despair, embraced as divine truth the dogma, that the voice of God in the soul announced his will to man, and was the only law which he was bound to obey. His boldness in preaching raised up enemies, and multiplied converts. He left the jail, the stocks, and the whipping-post, with strength renewed and resolution increased, to proclaim his doctrines. In the conventicle, the alehouse, and the field, he preached to all who would hear him, and preached with such earnest fervor, and prayed with such awful sublimity, that immense multitudes of the common people embraced his doctrines. It is not surprising that, obeying the impulse of the spirit, many of his ignorant followers committed extravagances which rendered them proper subjects of the discipline of the magistrates.

In 1656, several of this sect came into Massachusetts. They were apprehended under the law against heretics; their books, which they brought with intent to circulate them among the people, were burnt, and themselves compelled to quit the colony. At the next session of the general court, a severe law was passed against Quakers in particular, and heavy penalties imposed upon any one who should bring them or their books into the colony, or should harbor them, or be present at their meetings. But their number increased, and their conduct became more offensive. They reviled magistrates and ministers, and, entering churches on the Sabbath, disturbed the solemnities of public worship. In 1658, an additional law was passed, making it a capital offence for any Quaker to return after banishment. Three, after having been once tried and banished, returned, were again tried, and, "for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death," were sentenced to die, and were executed. Subse-

quently another was banished, but returned; was again apprehended; was offered permission to leave the colony, and repeatedly urged to accept it, but, refusing to go, and declaring to the court that "their ministers were deluded, and themselves murderers," was tried, convicted, and executed.

Many more Quakers came into the colony, were tried and banished, returned, were again tried, and variously disposed of; but no others were executed. The severe and cruel law against them was undoubtedly passed in the confident expectation that, by means of it, the colony would be freed of these intruders, and that no occasion for executing it would ever arrive; and it was carried into execution from a fancied necessity of enforcing a law so daringly violated. The natural feeling of man rose up in opposition to the law, and it was repealed. When the agitation in men's minds subsided, the Quakers became calm with the rest; and their leading tenet seems to have had a favorable influence, in an educated age, upon their morals and conduct.

Cromwell, who had governed England with greater ability and higher merit than most of her kings, died in 1658; and, after an interval of two years, Charles II., a prince destitute of honor and virtue, was recalled from exile, and placed upon the throne. He was reluctantly acknowledged by the colonies of New England. They had been the favorites of the parliament and the Protector, and apprehended, with good reason, the loss of their civil and religious privileges.

A short time after, Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I. to be beheaded, having fled before the return of his successor, arrived in New England. Their first place of residence was Cambridge; but they often appeared publicly in Boston, particularly on Sundays and other days of religious solemnities. They had sustained high rank in Cromwell's army, were men of uncommon talents, and, by their dignified manners and grave deportment, commanded universal respect.

As soon as it was known that they were excepted from the general pardon, the governor suggested to the court of assistants the expediency of arresting them. A majority opposed it, and many members of the general court gave them assurances of protection. Considering themselves, however, unsafe at Cambridge, they removed to New Haven, where they were received with great respect by the clergy and magistrates.

After a short residence there, enjoying, in private, the society of their friends, the governor of Massachusetts received a mandate to arrest them. A warrant was immediately issued, authorizing two zealous loyalists to search for and seize them, wherever found in New England. They hastened to the colony of New Haven, exhibited the warrant to the governor, who resided at Guilford, and requested him to furnish authority and assistants to pursue them. Desirous of favoring the exiles, he affected to deliberate until the next morning, and then utterly declined acting officially, without the advice of his council.

In the mean time, they were apprized of their danger, and retired to a new place of concealment. The pursuers, on arriving at New Haven, searched every suspected house, except the one where the judges were concealed. This they began to search, but were induced, by the address of the mistress of it, to desist. When the pursuers had departed, the judges, retiring into the woods, fixed their abode in a cave. Hearing there that their friends were threatened with punishment for having afforded them protection, they came from their hiding-place for the purpose of delivering themselves up; but their friends, actuated by feelings equally noble and generous, persuaded them to relinquish their intention. Soon after, they removed to Milford, where they remained about two years.

Upon the arrival of other persons, instructed to apprehend them, they repaired privately to Hadley, in Massachusetts, where they resided fifteen or sixteen years, but few persons being acquainted with the place

of their concealment. There is, in that neighborhood, a tradition, that, many years afterwards, two graves were discovered in the minister's cellar; and in these, it was supposed, they had been interred. At New Haven, two graves are shown, said to be those of the two judges. It is not improbable that their remains were removed to this place from Hadley.

A singular incident, which occurred at the latter place, in 1675, shows that one of these illustrious exiles had not forgotten the avocations of his youth. The people, at the time of public worship, were alarmed by an attack from the Indians, and thrown into the utmost confusion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared, differing in his mien and dress from all around him. He put himself at their head, rallied, encouraged, and led them against the enemy, who were repulsed and completely defeated. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were lost in amazement, and many verily believed that an angel sent from heaven had led them to victory.

As soon as Holland became independent, she devoted all her energies to commerce; and her citizens, by their proverbial economy, were enabled to monopolize almost all the commerce of the world. While the ships of England lay rotting in her harbors, those of Holland carried to England the wines of France and Spain, the spices of the Indies, and even the various products of the American colonies. The parliament, therefore, in 1651, passed the famous Navigation Act, by which ships not owned by Englishmen, and not navigated principally by Englishmen, were prohibited from bringing into English ports any articles of merchandise, except such as were the products of the country to which the ships belonged. From this law the kingdom derived great benefit, the colonies suffered little injury; it merely excluded foreign ships from the direct trade between them and the mother country. On the restoration of the king, this law was continued in force; and it was also enacted that the principal products of the English colonies should not be carried from

them to any other country than such as belonged to the crown of England; and, in 1663, it was still further enacted, that no commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe should be imported into the colonies except from British ports; thus compelling the colonists to sell what they produced, and buy what they wanted, in the markets of England alone.

These restraints upon their trade were highly injurious to the colonies. That they were profitable to England did not, in their view, relieve them from the charge of odious injustice. England, as a nation, had expended nothing in settling or protecting the colonies: by what right, then, could she claim to render their interests subservient to hers? They resorted to complaints and remonstrances; but these were disregarded; and the colonists, on their side, disregarded, as much as they dared, the laws of trade. Their distance from the mother country favored them; and, notwithstanding these enacted restrictions, the offspring of selfishness and pride, if not of hostility, they continued to prosper.

Their treatment of the king's judges, and in truth all their conduct, evinced the republican spirit of the colonists. By the royal government of England they could not, therefore, be regarded with favor. They had enemies, too, among themselves. After the restoration, Samuel Maverick, who had been long in Massachusetts, and always in opposition to the authorities, repaired to England, and solicited that commissioners might be sent over to examine into their conduct, to hear complaints, and decide upon them. In 1664, commissioners were accordingly appointed, Maverick being one; and they were also directed to take possession of New York, then occupied by the Dutch. Their first session was at Plymouth, where but little business was transacted; the next in Rhode Island, where they heard complaints from the Indians, and made divers determinations respecting titles to land, which were but little regarded. On arriving in Massachusetts, it appeared that, as a part of their duty,

they were instructed to require, that all persons should take the oath of allegiance; that all who should desire it should be permitted to use the Book of Common Prayer; that persons of good and honest conversation should enjoy the privileges of voting and being elected to office; and that the act of navigation should be punctually observed. The general court complied with such of their requisitions as they thought proper; but, professing sincere loyalty to his majesty, declined acknowledging their authority, and protested against the exercise of it within their limits. In consequence of this manly assertion of their chartered rights, an angry correspondence took place between them, at the close of which the commissioners told the general court "that they would lose no more of their labors upon them," but would represent their conduct to his majesty.

From Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire, where they exercised several acts of government, and offered to release the inhabitants from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This offer was almost unanimously rejected. In Maine, they excited more disturbance. They encouraged the people to declare themselves independent, and found many disposed to listen to their suggestions; but Massachusetts, by a prompt and vigorous exertion of power, constrained the disaffected to submit to her authority.

Connecticut appears to have been the favorite of the commissioners. She treated them with respect, and complied with their requisitions. In return, they made such a representation of her merits to the king, as to draw from him a letter of thanks. "Although," says he, "your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary behavior of the colony of Massachusetts."

It may give some insight into the manners and feelings of the people, and throw some light upon the character of the commissioners, to relate an occurrence, otherwise trivial, which happened while they were in

Boston. They sometimes met at the Ship Tavern, and, being there one Saturday evening, which was a violation of law, a constable visited them; an altercation took place; they beat him, and afterwards adjourned to a private house in the neighborhood. Another constable, more zealous and courageous, hastened to the tavern, and, not finding them there, sought them at the house to which they had repaired. He told them he was glad to find them there; for, if he had found them at the tavern, he should have carried them all before a magistrate; and he reproved them sharply for beating a constable and abusing authority. He was asked if he should have dared to meddle with the king's commissioners. "Yes," said he; "and if the king himself had been there, I should have carried him away." "Treason!" cried one of them; and the next day he sent a note to the governor, charging the constable with high treason, and demanding his arrest. Criminal proceedings were therefore instituted against him, which, after continuing some time, ended in a sentence, that he "should be admonished in a solemn manner by the governor."

At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the emigrants at Plymouth, the New England colonies were supposed to contain one hundred and twenty towns, and as many thousand inhabitants. The acts of parliament not being rigidly enforced, their trade had become extensive and profitable. The habits of industry and economy, which had been formed in less happy times, continued to prevail, and gave a competency to those who had nothing, and wealth to those who had a competency. The wilderness receded before adventurous and hardy laborers, and its savage inhabitants found their game dispersed, and their favorite haunts invaded.

This was the natural consequence of the sales of land which were, at all times, readily made to the whites. But this consequence the Indians did not foresee; and when they felt it in all its force, the strongest passions were awakened which can animate

civilized or savage man — the love of country and of independence.

A leader only was wanting to concentrate and direct their exertions; and Philip of Pokanoket, sachem of a tribe living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, assumed that honorable but dangerous station. His father was the friend, but he had ever been the enemy, of the whites; and this enmity, arising from causes of national concern, had been imbibed to vindictive hatred by their conduct towards his elder brother. This brother, being suspected of plotting against them, was seized by a detachment of soldiers, and confined; and the indignity so wrought upon his proud spirit, as to produce a fever that put an end to his life.

Philip inherited the authority and proud spirit of his brother. He exerted all the arts of intrigue, and powers of persuasion, of which he was master, to induce the Indians, in all parts of New England, to unite their efforts for the destruction of the whites. He succeeded in forming a confederacy, able to send into action between three and four thousand warriors.

The English were apprized of the plots of the Indians, and made preparations to meet their hostilities. They hoped, however, that the threatened storm would pass by, as others had, and that peace would be preserved. But the insolence of Philip, and the number of his adherents, increased daily; and, in June, 1675, some of them entered the town of Swansey, in Plymouth, where, after slaughtering the cattle and plundering the houses, they fired upon the inhabitants, killing and wounding several.

The troops of that colony marched immediately to Swansey, and were soon joined by a detachment from Massachusetts. The Indians fled, and marked the course of their flight by burning the buildings, and fixing on poles, by the way-side, the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites whom they had killed. The troops pursued, but, unable to overtake them, returned to Swansey. The whole country was alarmed, and

the number of troops augmented. By this array of force, Philip was induced to quit his residence at Mount Hope, and take post near a swamp at Pocasset, now Tiverton. At that place, the English attacked him, but were repulsed. Sixteen whites were killed; and the Indians, by this success, were made bolder.

At this time, most of the settlements were surrounded by thick forests, and the Indians lived intermixed with the whites. The former were acquainted, of course, with the dwellings of the latter, with their roads, and places of resort; could watch their motions, and fall upon them in their defenceless and unguarded moments. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning; many while at work in their fields, and others while travelling to visit their neighbors, or places of worship. At all times, at all places, in all employments, were their lives in jeopardy; and no one could tell but that, in the next moment, he should receive his death-shot from his barn, the thicket, or the way-side. Whenever the enemy assembled in force, detachments were sent against them; if weaker than these, they would retreat; if stronger, assault and conquer them. Defenceless villages were suddenly attacked, the houses burned, and the men, women, and children killed or carried into captivity. Their ruin was the work of a moment; and when accomplished, its authors vanished.

The colonies, losing individuals, families, and villages, found their numbers sensibly diminished, their strength impaired, and began to apprehend even total extinction. Nothing but a vigorous effort could save them. The commissioners met, and determined to despatch an army of a thousand men, to attack the principal position of the enemy. Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief; and a solemn fast, to invoke the divine aid, was proclaimed throughout New England.

On the 18th of December, the different bodies of troops formed a junction at a place in the country of the Narragansetts, about fifteen miles from the enemy.

The weather was extremely cold, but the men, from necessity, passed the night, uncovered, in the fields. At dawn of day, they began their march, wading through the deep snow, and, at one o'clock, arrived near the enemy's post, which was upon a rising ground, in the midst of a swamp. It was surrounded by palisades, and on the outside of these was a fence of brush, a rod in width.

Here was fought the most desperate battle recorded in the early annals of the country. It continued three hours. The English obtained a decisive victory. One thousand Indian warriors were killed; three hundred more, and as many women and children, were made prisoners. But dearly was the victory purchased. Six brave captains and eighty men were killed, and one hundred and fifty were wounded.

From this blow the confederated Indians never recovered; but they still remained sufficiently strong to harass the settlements by continual inroads. In retaliation, the English sent several detachments into their territories, nearly all of which were successful. Captain Church of Plymouth, and Captain Dennison of Connecticut, were conspicuous for their bravery and good fortune.

In the midst of these reverses, Philip remained firm and unshaken. His warriors were cut off; his chief men, his wife and family, were killed or taken prisoners; and at these successive misfortunes he is represented to have wept with a bitterness which proved him to possess the noblest of human virtues and affections. But he disdained to listen to any offers of peace; he even shot one of his men, who proposed submission. At length, after being hunted from swamp to swamp, he was himself shot, by the brother of the Indian he had killed. After his death, the remnant of his followers either submitted to the English or united with distant tribes.

Never was peace more welcome, for never had war been more distressing. The whole population was in mourning for relatives slain. Nearly a thousand houses

had been burned, and goods and cattle of great value had been plundered or destroyed. The colonies had contracted a heavy debt, which, their resources having been so much diminished, they found an almost insupportable burden. But, in their deepest distress, they forbore to apply to the mother country for assistance; and this omission excited surprise and jealousy. "You act," said a privy counsellor, "as though you were independent of our master's crown; and though poor, yet you are proud."

The construction of her charter by which Massachusetts claimed and obtained jurisdiction over New Hampshire, was not submitted to by the heir of Mason. On application to the king, a decision, after long delay, was made in his favor. Apprehending the loss of Maine also, Massachusetts purchased of the heirs of Gorges their claim to the soil and jurisdiction for twelve hundred and fifty pounds. Considering that she now stood in the place of the patentee, she appointed Thomas Danforth to be president of the province, as deputy of the proprietor. It was afterwards divided into two counties, York and Cumberland, and governed as a part of Massachusetts.

The disregard of the acts of trade had given great offence to the mother country, and the governors of New England were peremptorily required to enforce them. But, being enacted by a parliament in which the colonies were not represented, they were regarded as violations of their rights, and continued to be evaded with impunity. Edward Randolph was therefore sent over, commissioned as inspector of the customs in New England. He was also the bearer of a letter from the king, requiring that agents should be sent to the court of London, fully empowered to act for the colonies.

It was well understood to be the intention of the king to procure, from the agents, a surrender of the charters, or to annul them by a suit in his courts, that he might himself place officers over the colonies, who would be subservient to his views. He had by in-

timidation procured the surrender, or by suits the annulment, of many charters in England and the colonies. The people felt that to be deprived of theirs, which secured to them the rights of self-government, would be the greatest of calamities. But they were aware that they were weak, that the king was arbitrary and all-powerful, and they hesitated what course to pursue. Agents were despatched, but instructed not to surrender the charter; and a fast was appointed to be observed through the colony. The agents wrote back that the case of the colony was desperate, and intimated that it might be advisable to submit to the king's mercy by surrendering. The subject was fully discussed, not only by those in office, but among the people; the opinion of many of the ministers was given in writing; and the result seemed to be a determination rather "to die by the hands of others than by their own." At a late period, the assistants voted to surrender, but the representatives voted not to concur. Seeing no prospect that the colony would submit, the king caused a suit to be instituted, and in June, 1684, the charter was declared forfeited.

All impediments to the exercise of the royal will being thus removed, King Charles II. appointed Colonel Kirk, infamous for his atrocities, governor over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Plymouth; but, Charles dying soon after, the appointment became void, and Joseph Dudley, who had been one of the agents in England, was appointed by his successor, James II. Dudley was soon superseded by the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived in December, 1686. This appointment caused the most gloomy forebodings. Sir Edmund had been governor of New York, and it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical.

Having secured a majority in the council, he assumed control over the press, appointing Randolph licenser. He established new and oppressive regulations concerning taxes, public worship, marriages,

and the settlement of estates. He and, by his permission, his subordinate officers extorted enormous fees for their services. He declared that, the charter being cancelled, the old titles to land were of no validity, and compelled the inhabitants, in order to avoid suits before judges dependent on his will, to take out new patents, for which large sums were demanded.

The hatred of the people was excited in proportion to their sufferings. In the beginning of 1689, a rumor reached Boston, that William, prince of Orange, had invaded England, with the intention of dethroning the king. Animated by the hope of deliverance, the people rushed spontaneously to arms, took possession of the fort, seized Andros, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, and placed them in confinement. A council of safety, consisting of their former magistrates, was then organized, to administer the government until authentic intelligence should be received from England.

In a few weeks, a ship arrived, bringing the glad tidings that William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne. They were immediately proclaimed, in all the colonies, with unusual rejoicings. The people of Massachusetts applied for the restoration of their old, or the grant of a new, charter. A definite answer was deferred, but the council was authorized to administer the government, according to the provisions of the old charter, until further directions should be given. Andros, Randolph, and others, were ordered home for trial.

The northern and eastern Indians having, at the instigation of the French, made incursions into the colonies of New England and New York, and massacred many of the inhabitants, an attack, by land and water, upon Canada was resolved upon. The army, raised principally by New York and Connecticut, proceeded no farther than Lake Champlain. The fleet, fitted out by Massachusetts, and commanded by Sir William Phipps, appeared before Quebec, but, hearing

that the army had retreated, returned unsuccessful to Boston. Great expense had been incurred, the treasury was empty, and the men could not be dismissed without pay. In this emergency, the general court voted that the requisite sum should be raised by a tax, and authorized an emission of colony notes, for sums from two shillings to ten pounds, which were passed to the men in discharge of their wages. These notes were to be received in payment of the tax which had been voted, and for all other payments into the treasury. At first, they fell below par, but rose to par when the time arrived for the payment of the tax. This was the first issue of paper money, or bills of credit — an expedient which was afterwards often resorted to, and, though it afforded relief at the moment, produced, in its consequences, extensive and complicated mischief.

In the mean time, a new charter had been granted to Massachusetts, which added Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia to her territory. The only privilege it allowed to the people was, the choice of representatives. These were to elect a council, and both bodies were to constitute the legislative power. It reserved to the king the right of appointing the governor and lieutenant-governor. To the governor it gave the power of rejecting laws, of negating the choice of councillors, of appointing all military and judicial officers, of adjourning, and even of dissolving, the assembly at pleasure. Laws, although approved by him, might be abrogated by the king, within three years after their enactment. The right of voting, instead of being confined to church members, was granted to freeholders whose income was forty shillings sterling a year, and to all who had forty pounds sterling of personal estate.

The king, to render the new charter more acceptable, appointed Sir William Phipps, a native of the province, governor; and, in 1692, he arrived at Boston. The new government went into operation without any opposition from the inhabitants; and almost the first

act of Sir William and his council was the institution of a court to try the unfortunate victims of popular delusion, accused of witchcraft, at Salem.

The belief in this supposed crime had been so prevalent in England, that parliament had enacted a law punishing it with death. Under this law, multitudes had been tried and executed in that country, and two or three in Massachusetts, some of whom acknowledged they were guilty. Accounts of these trials and confessions, and particularly of some trials before Sir Matthew Hale, a judge revered in the colonies, had been published and distributed throughout the country. They were read, in a time of deep distress and gloom, by a people naturally sedate, and accustomed to regard with awe the surprising and unaccountable incidents and appearances which, in this new world, were often presented to their contemplation.

In February, 1692, a daughter and a niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were afflicted with disorders affecting their bodies in the most singular manner. The physicians, unable to account for their contortions, pronounced them bewitched; and the children, hearing of this, declared that an Indian woman, who lived in the house, was the cause of their torments. Mr. Paris concurred with the physicians. Several private fasts were kept at his house, and the gloom was increased by a solemn fast throughout the colony.

The Indian woman confessed herself guilty. The children were visited, noticed, and pitied. This encouraged them to persevere, and other children, either from sympathy or the desire of similar attentions, exhibited similar contortions. A distracted old woman, and one who had been a long time confined to her bed, were added to the list of the accused; and, in the progress of the infatuation, women of mature age united with the children in their accusations.

The accused were multiplied in proportion to the accusers. Children accused their parents, and parents their children. A word from those who were supposed to be afflicted occasioned the arrest of the devoted

victim; and so firmly convinced were the magistrates that the prince of darkness was in the midst of them, using human instruments to accomplish his purposes, that the slightest testimony was deemed sufficient to justify a commitment for trial.

The court specially instituted for this purpose held a session in June, and afterwards several others by adjournment. Many were tried, and received sentence of death. A few pleaded guilty. Several were convicted upon testimony which, at other times, would not have induced suspicion of an ordinary crime, and some upon testimony retracted after conviction. Nineteen were executed, and many yet remained to be tried.

At this stage of the proceedings, the legislature established, by law, a permanent court, by which the other was superseded, and fixed a distant day for its first session at Salem. In the mean time, the accusations multiplied, and additional jails were required to hold the accused. The impostors, hardened by impunity and success, ascended from decrepit old women to respectable characters, and at length, in their ravings, named ministers of the gospel, and even the wife of the governor.

The community were thrown into consternation. Each felt alarm for himself, his family, and friends. The shock roused them to reflection. They considered more closely the character of the accusers; the nature of the alleged crime; the testimony, often contradictory, and never explicit; and, more than all these, the high standing of some who were implicated; and began to doubt whether they had not been too credulous and precipitate.

At the next term, the grand jury found indictments against fifty; but, on trial, all were acquitted except three, and them the governor reprieved. He also directed that all who were in prison should be set at liberty. A belief, however, of the truth of the charges, still lingered among the people, and prevented any prosecution of the impostors. That all were impos-

tors, cannot be believed. Many must have acted under the influence of a disordered imagination, which the attendant circumstances were well calculated to produce.

In the first general court, under the new charter, were many of those who were members of the last under the old, and they made an almost hopeless attempt to secure the privileges they had enjoyed. They passed an act declaring "that no tax or imposition whatever shall be laid or levied on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court." This act was immediately disallowed. They passed another act prescribing the punishment of death for idolatry, blasphemy, incest, and manslaughter; thus showing that their abhorrence of crime was greater than their regard for life. This also was disallowed. Another act provided that the real and personal estate of all who died intestate should be divided into equal shares, of which the eldest son should take two, and each of the other children one; thus making an important alteration of the common law, which gave all the real estate to the eldest son, displaying the love of equality which then prevailed, and sufficient of itself to introduce and perpetuate free institutions. This law was allowed, as were also many others, of less importance, passed at the same session.

The war with the French and Indians, which began in 1690, was not yet terminated. For seven years were the frontier settlements harassed by the savages, and the English employed in expeditions against them. A history of these would consist only of repeated accounts of Indian cunning and barbarity, and of English enterprise and fortitude. Peace between England and France, which took place in 1697, was soon followed by peace with the savages.

But in a few years, war again broke out in Europe, which was the signal for hostilities in America. The first blow fell upon Deerfield. In February, 1704, it

was surprised in the night ; about forty persons were killed, and more than one hundred made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. The killed were scalped, and the prisoners commanded to prepare for a long march to Canada. On the second day, Mrs. Williams was so exhausted with fatigue, that she could go no farther. Her husband solicited permission to remain with her ; but the retreating savages, according to their custom in such cases, killed her, and compelled him to proceed. Before the termination of their journey, twenty more became unable to walk, and were in like manner sacrificed. Those who survived the journey to Canada were treated by the French with humanity ; and after a captivity of many years, most of them were redeemed, and returned to their friends.

New York having agreed with the French and the western Indians to remain neutral, these were enabled to pour their whole force upon Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the inhabitants of which, for ten years, endured miseries peculiar to an Indian war, and more distressing than their descendants can well imagine. The enemy were at all times prowling about the frontier settlements, watching in concealment for an opportunity to strike a sudden blow and fly with safety. The women and children retired into the garrisons ; the men left their fields uncultivated, or labored with arms at their sides, and with sentinels at every point whence an attack could be apprehended.

Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, the enemy were often successful, killing sometimes an individual only, sometimes a whole family, sometimes a band of laborers ten or twelve in number ; and so swift were they in their movements, that but few fell into the hands of the whites. It was computed that the sum of one thousand pounds was expended for every Indian killed or made captive.

In 1707, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, which was then in possession of the

French. It returned without accomplishing its object. In 1710, New England, assisted by a fleet furnished by the mother country, succeeded in reducing the place; and its name, in compliment to Queen Anne, was changed to Annapolis.

The success of this enterprise encouraged the commander, General Nicholson, to visit England and propose an expedition against Canada. His proposition was adopted, and in June, 1711, Admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, bringing an army of veteran troops, arrived at Boston. Taking on board two additional regiments, he sailed from that port about the last of July. At the same time, General Nicholson repaired to Albany to take command of the troops that were to proceed by land.

When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the River St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. A difference of opinion arose concerning the course to be pursued, the English pilots recommending one course, and the colonial another. The admiral, entertaining, like all other English officers, an opinion of the abilities of the colonists corresponding with their dependent condition, adopted the advice of his own pilots. Pursuing the course they recommended, nine transports were driven, about midnight, upon the rocks, and dashed to pieces.

From every quarter cries of distress arose, conveying, through the darkness, to those who were yet afloat, intelligence of the fate of their comrades and of their own danger. The shrieks of the drowning pleaded powerfully for assistance, but none could be afforded until the morning dawned, when six or seven hundred, found floating on the scattered wrecks, were rescued from death, more than a thousand having sunk to rise no more. Not a single American was lost.

Weakened by this terrible disaster, the admiral determined to return to England, where he arrived in the month of October. Thither misfortune attended him. On the 15th, his ship blew up, and four hundred

seamen perished. The New England troops returned to their homes, and Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, led back his troops to Albany. The next year, the colonies found no repose. In 1713, France and England made peace at Utrecht, and, in the same year, peace was concluded with the Indians.

Such was the destruction of lives in this war, that the population of New England was sensibly retarded. Her expenses were also enormous. Although the annual taxes paid by the inhabitants were greater than in any other portion of the British empire, yet the colonies most exposed were burdened, at the close of the war, with a heavy debt, in the shape of bills of credit or paper money, which impeded their prosperity, perplexing individuals and the government in all their transactions.

In 1716, Samuel Shute, a colonel in the army of the celebrated duke of Marlborough, was appointed governor. On his arrival in the province, he found the people divided into two parties, one in favor of a public bank, which had just been established, the other of the incorporation of a private bank. He joined the former; the latter of course became hostile, and, led by a Mr. Cooke, opposed with virulence all his measures.

In 1720, this party, embracing a majority of the representatives, elected their leader speaker. The choice was communicated to the governor, who interposed his negative. The house persisted in their choice, denying his right to interfere. The controversy continued several days, when the governor dissolved the assembly, and directed that a new election should be made by the people.

The charter not giving, in express terms, to the governor the power to reject a speaker, the people resolved to support their representatives, and nearly all of them were again elected. When met, to avoid a second dissolution, they chose a Mr. Lindall speaker; but, in a warm remonstrance to the governor, con-

demned his conduct, and reasserted their sole and exclusive right to choose their presiding officer. The session was short, and but little was done that did not display the angry feelings of the house. Instead of six hundred pounds, the usual grant to the governor for half a year's salary, they appropriated but five hundred, and, as a mark of their displeasure, deferred that act until near the close of the session.

At their next meeting, the same feelings prevailed, and the same diminished sum was voted. The governor then informed them, that he had been instructed by the king to recommend to the assembly, to establish for him a permanent and honorable salary. The house, aware of the importance of retaining the power of granting such sums as the governor might merit by his conduct, replied, that the subject was new, and expressed a wish that the court might rise. With this request the governor complied.

This disagreement continued, the ill temper of both parties increasing, through several subsequent sessions. The representatives, confident of the support of the people, refused to establish a permanent salary for the governor, and often withheld the pittance they gave until he had sanctioned those measures which they desired should be adopted. His residence in the province being rendered, by this dispute, unpleasant, he suddenly and privately quitted it, in December, 1722. Upon his arrival in England, he exhibited charges against the house, of having made various encroachments upon the king's prerogative, which the agents of the province were instructed to answer and repel.

He remained in England until 1728, when he resigned his office, and William Burnet, then governor of New York, was appointed his successor. In his first speech, he informed the house that he had received positive instructions from the king to insist on a permanent salary. The representatives, generous of their money, but tenacious of their rights, appropri-

ated three hundred pounds for the expenses of his journey, and fourteen hundred pounds towards his support, not specifying for what time. The first sum he accepted, but absolutely declined receiving any compensation for his services, except in the mode of a fixed salary.

The delegates were equally decided, and, having transacted all their necessary business, requested the governor, by message, to adjourn them. He replied, that he could not comply with their request, as, if he did, he should put it out of their power to pay immediate regard to the king's instructions. A few days afterwards, the request was again made, and again denied. Messages, containing arguments and replies, were often interchanged by the parties. After two months had been consumed in the controversy, the governor, imagining the members were influenced by the citizens of Boston, transferred the general court to Salem. They were detained there two months; were then allowed to return to their homes; were again assembled, after a short recess; and, having sat seventeen days, were again adjourned without exhibiting any symptoms of compliance.

A new assembly was elected, and held several sessions in the summer of 1729, displaying the same spirit as the former. In the mean time, information was transmitted from England, that the king approved the conduct of the governor, and condemned that of the house. Still the members continued inflexible. In August, they were removed to Cambridge, which served to exasperate rather than to convince them. Here, however, the controversy was suspended, for a time, by the death of the governor, which was supposed to have been hastened by his unsuccessful contest with the house of representatives.

His successor was Mr. Belcher, then agent in England. As he belonged to the popular party, his appointment gave rise to the expectation, that the instruction to obtain a permanent salary was with-

drawn. But from his first speech it appeared, that it was not only unrescinded, but enforced by a threat of punishment in case of refusal.

The house, unintimidated by the threat, refused. The governor, during the first two years of his administration, made several attempts to induce them to comply. All failing, he endeavored to obtain a relaxation of his instructions. Permission was at length granted that he might receive a particular sum, which had been voted, and a similar permission was afterwards annually given. Thus ended a contest which prepared the people of Massachusetts to embark in another, in which more important rights were to be defended.

These turbulent times were succeeded by a calm which continued several years; during which, however, the enemies of Governor Belcher, by incessant misrepresentation, deprived him of the favor of the ministry in England. In 1740, he was removed from office, and Mr. William Shirley appointed in his place.

In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were involved in its calamities. Their commerce and fisheries suffered great injury from privateers, fitted out at Louisburg, a French port on Cape Breton. Its situation gave it such importance, that nearly six millions of dollars had been expended on its fortifications. Mr. Vaughan, of New Hampshire, who had often visited that place as a trader, conceived the project of an expedition against it. He communicated it to Governor Shirley, and, being ardent and enthusiastic, convinced him that the enterprise was practicable, and inspired him with his own enthusiasm.

Having exacted of the general court an oath of secrecy, the governor, in January, 1745, communicated to them the project. Many heard it with amazement. So strong was the place, and so weak, comparatively, were the colonies, that the thought of attacking it seemed rash and presumptuous. From respect to him, however, his proposal was referred to a commit-

tee: they reported against it; the house accepted the report, and the members dismissed from their minds all thoughts of the expedition.

During the secret deliberations, the people watched with anxiety to ascertain their object. The disclosure was made by an honest member, who incautiously, in his family devotions, prayed for the divine blessing on the attempt, should it be made. The people were instantly struck with the advantage of possessing the place. When the decision was made known, a petition, signed by a large number of merchants, was presented to the general court, praying them to comply with the governor's proposal. The subject was again discussed, and a vote in favor of the expedition was passed by a majority of one.

The question was now decided; and all who were before averse to the enterprise, united heartily with its supporters to carry it into execution. The other New England colonies were solicited, and agreed to furnish assistance; and a boat was despatched to Commodore Warren, in the West Indies, to invite his coöperation. Colonel Pepperell was appointed commander-in-chief, and Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, second in command.

In two months, an army of more than four thousand men was enlisted, clothed, victualled, and equipped for service, in the four New England colonies, which did not then contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. On the 23d of March, the despatch-boat returned from the West Indies, with advice that Commodore Warren declined furnishing aid. This intelligence was kept secret. The troops of Massachusetts embarked, as though nothing discouraging had happened; and about the middle of April, they, as well as those sent by Connecticut and New Hampshire, arrived safe at Canso.

Commodore Warren had but just despatched his answer, when he received orders to repair to Boston with such ships as could be spared, and concert measures with Governor Shirley for his majesty's service in North America. He sailed instantly; but

learning, in his course, that the transports had left Boston for Canso, he steered directly for that place, where he arrived on the 23d of April. He added much to their naval strength, and much to that confidence which, by promising, insures, victory.

Several vessels of war, which had been sent to cruise before Louisburg, had captured a number of French ships, and prevented any intelligence of the expedition from reaching the enemy. These vessels were daily in sight of the place, but were supposed to be privateers, and caused no alarm. The appearance of the fleet, on the 30th of April, gave the French the first intimation of their danger.

The troops immediately landed; and the next day a detachment of four hundred, marching round the hills, approached within a mile of the grand battery, setting fire to all the houses and stores on the way. Many of these contained pitch and tar, which produced a thick smoke, that completely enveloped the invaders. The fears of the French were increased by their uncertainty. They imagined the whole army was coming upon them, and, throwing their powder into a well, deserted the battery, of which the New England troops took possession without loss.

This was uncommon good fortune; but the most difficult labors of the siege remained to be performed. The cannon were to be drawn nearly two miles, over a deep morass, in plain view, and within gunshot, of the enemy's principal fortifications. For fourteen nights, the troops, with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, were employed in this service.

The approaches were then begun in the mode which seemed most proper to the shrewd understandings of untaught militia. Those officers who were skilled in the art of war, talked of *zigzags* and *epaulements*; but the troops made themselves merry with the terms, and proceeded in their own way. By the 20th of May, they had erected five batteries, one of which

mounted five forty-two pounders, and did great execution.

Meanwhile the fleet, cruising in the harbor, had been equally successful. It captured a French ship of sixty-four guns, loaded with stores for the garrison, to whom the loss was as distressing as to the besiegers the capture was fortunate. English ships-of-war were, besides, continually arriving, and added such strength to the fleet, that a combined attack upon the town was resolved upon. The enemy, discovering this design, deemed it unwise to abide the hazard of an assault. On the 15th of June, the French commander proposed a cessation of hostilities, and, on the 17th, capitulated.

Intelligence of this event, flying swiftly through the colonies, diffused great and universal joy. And well might the citizens of New England be elated with the glad tidings. Without even a suggestion from the mother country, they had projected, and, with but little assistance, had achieved, an enterprise of vast importance to her and to them. Their commerce and fisheries were now secure, and their maritime cities relieved from all fear of attack from that quarter.

France, fired with resentment at her loss, made extraordinary exertions to retrieve it, and to inflict chastisement on New England. The next summer, she despatched to the American coast a powerful fleet, carrying a large number of soldiers. The news of its approach spread terror throughout New England; but an uncommon succession of disasters, which the pious of that time attributed to the special interposition of Providence, deprived it of all power to inflict injury. After remaining a short time on the coast, it returned to France, having lost two admirals, both of whom, it was supposed, put an end to their lives through chagrin; having also, by tempests, been reduced to one half its force, and effected nothing.

In 1748, peace was concluded, each party restoring all its prisoners and conquests — a striking, but not un-

common, illustration of the folly of war. Louisburg, though conquered by the colonies, was exchanged, by Great Britain, for territories which she had lost in Europe. New England murmured at this injustice; but what avail the murmurs of the weak?

From this period to the commencement of the next French war, but few important events occurred in Massachusetts. The bills of credit, which the colony had issued to defray its enormous expenditure, were redeemed by the government, at their depreciated value. This example was followed, though tardily, by the other governments. At the time of their redemption, they were worth no more, in some colonies, than one tenth, and in others, one twentieth, of the sum for which they had been issued.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Two of the most active members of the council of Plymouth were Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason. Gorges was governor of Plymouth, in England; and, having taken into his service three Indians brought from America, he learned from them many particulars of their country, and conceived sanguine hopes of making his fortune by despatching ships to explore it, and by carrying on trade with the natives. His first enterprises were unsuccessful; but, nevertheless, he persevered. Mason was a merchant of London; was afterwards governor of Newfoundland, where he acquired some knowledge of America; was governor, also, of Portsmouth, in Hampshire; and, a vacancy occurring in the council, he was elected a member, and soon after appointed its secretary.

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In 1621, Mason obtained from the council a grant

of all the land between the Rivers Merrimac and Naumkeag, which district was called Mariana. The next year, Gorges and Mason obtained jointly a grant of the land between the Rivers Merrimac and Sagadahoc, extending back to the great lakes and the River of Canada; and this tract was called Laconia. In 1623, designing to establish a fishery at the River Piscataqua, they sent over David Thompson, Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers, with several others, in two divisions. One landed on the southern shore of the river, called the place Little Harbor, erected salt works, and built a house, which they called Mason Hall; the other, led by the Hiltons, set up their stages eight miles farther up the river, and called the place at first Northam, and afterwards Dover. Fishing and trade being the sole object of both parties, these settlements increased slowly.

In 1629, Mason procured another patent, granting the land between Piscataqua and Merrimac Rivers, and extending sixty miles into the country; and this tract he called New Hampshire. Subsequently the council granted to Edward Hilton the land about Hilton's Point; and to Gorges, Mason, and others, the land about Little Harbor. For what reasons these several patents were granted, is not easily understood at this day, and the question is not important. Trading with the natives, fishing, and the making of salt, were carried on at both places. In 1631, a house, called the Great House, was built at Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth.

The death of Mason, which occurred in 1635, retarded the progress of the settlement at Little Harbor, which was under his particular management. The principal part of his estate in New Hampshire he bequeathed to his grandson, Robert Tufon, on condition that he took the surname of Mason. In 1638, John Wheelwright, the brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, banished from Massachusetts for his Antinomian principles, came, with a number of his adherents, to Squamscot Falls, where they made a settlement, and called it

Exeter. Believing themselves to be out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they combined into a separate body politic, chose rulers, and took an oath to obey them. Wheelwright purchased of the Indians a tract of land round the falls thirty miles square. It is now ascertained that this purchase was not made until 1638, and that the deed bearing date previous to the grant to Mason was a forgery.

The widow and executrix of Mason, finding the expense of managing the estate in New Hampshire greater than the income, relinquished the care of it; and the men in her employment divided among themselves the goods and cattle. It is said that a hundred oxen were driven to Boston, and there sold for twenty-five pounds, equal to about one hundred and twenty-five dollars, apiece, that being the current price of the best oxen in New England at that time. They were of a large breed imported from Denmark.

Among the Antinomians who were banished from Massachusetts was Captain John Underhill. He had been a soldier in the Netherlands; was brought to Massachusetts, by Governor Winthrop, to train the people in military discipline; served in the Pequod war; and was once chosen a representative from Boston. He was a singular compound of enthusiasm in religion, turbulence in social life, licentiousness in conduct, and bravery in war. After he and two contending clergymen, Knollys and Larkham, had, for some time, kept Dover and Strawberry Bank in commotion, he returned to Boston, and, in a large public assembly, made humble confession of his sins, and especially of a crime severely punished by our ancestors. The church restored him to their communion, and afterwards, at their own expense, sent him, at the request of the Dutch, to New York, where, in a war with the Indians, he distinguished himself for his bravery and success. Knollys, after publicly confessing himself guilty, and Larkham, dreading the exposure, of the same crime, returned to England, and there proved the sincerity of their religious opinions, by adhering to

them, though persecuted for non-conformity. Enthusiasm, even when sincere, is often only the result of natural fervor of temperament, and the same natural fervor often impels to the commission of wickedness.

The people of Dover and Strawberry Bank, not having any established government, combined themselves separately into a body politic, after the example of their brethren at Exeter. But the more considerate, sensible of their weakness, proposed to place themselves under the protection of Massachusetts. That colony contended that, by the most natural construction of her charter, they were within her limits; and, in 1641, she gladly received them. They and all the settlements in New Hampshire were governed as a part of that colony until the year 1680.

The Indian war, called Philip's war, which raged in the years 1675 and 1676, extended to New Hampshire; and the settlers on Piscataqua and Oyster Rivers suffered severely. Major Waldron, of Dover, holding a commission from Massachusetts, conducted the war, in this region, on the part of the whites. In the winter of 1675, some of the eastern tribes sued to him for peace, and by his mediation a treaty was concluded. After the death of Philip, many of his followers endeavored to conceal themselves among these tribes; but were pursued, and some, being caught, were executed. Others, rendered desperate, joined with the Indians farther east in committing depredations upon the settlers in Maine and New Hampshire. Massachusetts sent a body of troops against them, which, on arriving at Dover, found there about four hundred Indians, belonging principally to the tribes with which Waldron had made peace. The officers from Massachusetts, being ordered to seize all Indians who had been concerned in the war, insisted on attacking them at once; but Waldron dissuaded them, and contrived a stratagem to effect their object. He proposed to the Indians to unite in a training and sham fight, added his own troops to those from Massachusetts, and, after the Indians had discharged their muskets, surrounded

them, made them all prisoners, and, separating those with whom he had made peace from those who had joined them, sent the latter to Boston, where some were executed, and the rest sold into slavery in foreign parts. The friendly Indians, though unharmed, accused Waldron of breach of faith, alleging that those sent to Boston had been received, according to their usage, into their tribes, and since then had committed no hostilities. His conduct was highly applauded by the whites, but the Indians never forgave him.

In 1675, Robert Mason, grandson and heir of John Mason, applied to the king to obtain possession of the territory and rights which had been granted to his ancestor. Notice of this application was given to Massachusetts, and the parties were heard before the king in council. In 1679, a decree was passed, that New Hampshire should be constituted a separate province, to be ruled by a president and council, who were to be appointed by the king, and a house of representatives, to be chosen by the people. No decision was made affecting the titles to land.

John Cutt was appointed president, and, in 1680, the first assembly, consisting of eleven members, met at Portsmouth. At this session, a code of laws was adopted, of which the first, in a style worthy of freemen, declared, "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be imposed upon the inhabitants of the province, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council." This was twelve years previous to the enactment of a similar law in Massachusetts. By another law, idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, manstealing, cursing and rebelling against parents, and many other crimes, were made capital.

In the same year, Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, came over with the appointment of collector of the customs throughout New England. It was his duty to enforce the acts of trade and navigation, which, in New Hampshire as well as in all the other colonies, were considered violations of their rights, and oppres-

sively unjust, because, for the sole benefit of England, they confined the trade of the colonies to English ports. Having seized a vessel belonging to Portsmouth, and bound to Ireland, he was prosecuted by the owner, and judgment obtained against him. Afterwards, he being absent, his deputy, Walter Barefoot, published an advertisement requiring that all vessels should be entered and cleared with him. He was thereupon indicted "for having, in a high and presumptuous manner, set up his majesty's office of customs without leave from the president and council," was convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of ten pounds. The men of that day were indeed men of nerve.

Mason, who had been appointed a member of the council, arrived at the same time in the colony. He assumed the title of lord proprietor, claimed the soil as his property, and threatened to prosecute all who would not take from him leases of the lands they occupied. His pretensions were resisted by most of the inhabitants, who claimed the fee simple of the soil by purchase from the Indians — a more righteous, if not more legal, title.

Discouraged by the opposition he met with, he returned to England, and solicited a change in the government of the colony. Edward Cranfield was appointed lieutenant-governor. He was to receive, for his compensation, all the fines and forfeitures due and accruing to the king, and one fifth of all the rents due and accruing to Mason. He was authorized, by his commission, to negative all acts of the assembly, to suspend councillors, and to appoint a deputy-governor and all colonial officers. He did not hesitate to avow that he accepted the office with the expectation of enriching himself.

On his arrival, in 1682, he suspended two councillors, Waldron and Martyn, who had been active in opposing Mason; and in a short time, by new appointments, filled all the offices with his adherents. Mason then brought a suit against Waldron, to try the validity of his title. Waldron made no defence, and judgment

was rendered against him. Many other suits were brought; no defence was made; executions were issued, but only two or three were levied, and these levies were ineffectual, for no one would purchase or take a lease of the lands, and the former claimants continued to enjoy them.

The tyranny and extortion of Cranfield and his subordinates goaded the people to desperation; and they secretly sent an agent, Nathaniel Weare, to England with petitions for his removal. Major Vaughan accompanied him to Boston; and, it being known that he had been employed to procure depositions to be forwarded to the agent in London, he was, on some pretext, committed to prison when he returned, and was kept nine months in confinement.

Greedy for more money than he could gain by extortion, Cranfield summoned an assembly, and laid before them a bill for raising money to defend the province and to defray *other* necessary charges. The assembly refused to pass the bill; when he, in a rage, told them that they had been to consult Moody and other enemies of the king and church of England, and dissolved them. In a spirit of revenge, he persuaded the courts of sessions to appoint several of the members constables for the ensuing year; some of whom took the oath, and others paid the fine, which was ten pounds, and was one of his perquisites.

This Moody was a Puritan clergyman, who had rendered himself obnoxious by the plainness of his pulpit discourses, and had, moreover, given offence by a highly-honorable enforcement of church discipline against a man whose cause Cranfield had espoused. The penal laws against non-conformists were then executed with great rigor in England; and the governor, believing that his conduct would not be disavowed by his sovereign, declared, by proclamation, that all ministers, who should refuse to administer the Lord's supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, to any one requiring it, should suffer the penalty imposed by the statute of uniformity. A short

time after, he gave notice to Moody that he intended to partake of the Lord's supper the next Sunday, and required him to administer it according to the Liturgy. Moody refused, and was indicted for his refusal. At first, four of the six justices were for acquitting him; but the trial being adjourned, Cranfield found means to change the opinions of two of the four; and he was sentenced to six months' confinement. The two justices, who remained inflexible, were removed from all their offices.

Notwithstanding the governor's efforts to prevent it, depositions proving his misconduct were forwarded to London; the lords of trade made a report censuring his conduct; and he, having previously solicited leave of absence, was allowed to return, and, on his arrival in England, was made collector of Barbadoes. Walter Barefoot was appointed deputy-governor, and held the office until Joseph Dudley was commissioned president over all New England.

For several years, the same governor presided over Massachusetts and New Hampshire. After Andros was deposed, the inhabitants of the latter colony desired to be incorporated with their former brethren. Their request was opposed by Samuel Allen, who had purchased Mason's title, and was refused. Allen was made governor of the colony, and, by his influence, John Usher, his son-in-law, was appointed lieutenant-governor. Under his administration, the disputes occasioned by adverse claims to land continued to rage with increased violence. Other suits were instituted, and judgments obtained; but the sheriff was forcibly resisted by a powerful combination, whenever he attempted to put the plaintiff in possession.

From Indian wars this colony suffered more than any of her sisters. The Indians who had been dismissed unharmed by Major Waldron had not forgotten what they considered his breach of faith: some of those who had been sold into slavery had returned, and thirsted for revenge. New causes of offence had been given by Cranfield; and Castine, a Frenchman, who

had a trading establishment east of the Penobscot, having been wronged, as he thought, by Andros, inflamed their animosity. In 1689, though peace prevailed, several tribes united to surprise Dover, and take vengeance on Waldron.

Having determined upon their plan of attack, they employed more than their usual art to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. So civil and respectful was their behavior, that they often obtained permission to sleep in the fortified houses in the town. On the evening of the fatal night, they assembled in the neighborhood, and sent their women to apply for lodgings at the houses devoted to destruction; who were not only admitted, but were shown how they could open the doors should they have occasion to go out in the night.

When all was quiet, the doors were opened, and the signal given. The Indians rushed into Waldron's house, and hastened to his apartment. Awakened by the noise, he seized his sword, and drove them back, but, when returning for his other arms, was stunned with a hatchet, and fell. They then dragged him into his hall, seated him in an elbow-chair, upon a long table, and insultingly asked him, "Who shall judge Indians now?" After feasting upon provisions which they compelled the rest of the family to procure, each one, with a knife, cut gashes across his breast, saying, "I cross out my account." When, weakened with the loss of blood, he was about to fall from the table, his own sword was held under him, which put an end to his misery.

At other houses, similar acts of cruelty were perpetrated. In the whole, twenty-three persons were killed, twenty-nine carried prisoners to Canada, and mostly sold to the French. Remembering kindness as well as injury, they spared one woman, who, thirteen years before, had conferred a favor on one of the party. Many houses were burned; much property was plundered; and so expeditious were the Indians, that they

had fled beyond reach before the neighboring people could be collected.

The war thus commenced was prosecuted with great vigor. The French, by giving premiums for scalps, and by purchasing the English prisoners, animated the Indians to exert all their activity and address, and the frontier inhabitants endured the most aggravated sufferings. The settlements on Oyster River were again surprised; twenty houses were burned, and nearly one hundred persons were killed or made prisoners. Other towns were attacked, many persons slain, and many carried into captivity. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, closed the distressing scene. In 1703, another war began, which continued ten years.

A colony of Scotch Presbyterians had removed to Ireland in the reign of James I. The persecutions which they suffered in subsequent reigns induced many of them to seek a home in America; and in 1718, about one hundred families arrived, in five ships, at Boston. After inquiry, a part of them determined to settle at a place called Nutfield, in New Hampshire. In the spring of the next year, they repaired to that place, and, on the first evening after their arrival, listened to a sermon, under a large oak, from James McGregor, whom they afterwards called to be their minister. They introduced the foot spinning-wheel, the manufacture of linen, and the culture of potatoes. The town was afterwards incorporated by the name of Londonderry, from a city of that name in Ireland, in which some of the emigrants had endured the hardships of a memorable siege.

These emigrants, unable to procure any other title, obtained such as Colonel Wheelwright could give by virtue of a license granted, nearly one hundred years before, by the Indians, to John Wheelwright, his ancestor. The people witnessed with dissatisfaction this appropriation, by foreigners, of land which they had defended. It was the interest of all that the settlements should be extended; many residents of the col-

ony were anxious to obtain grants; but the claim of the assignees of Mason was in the way. At length, petitions being presented, notice to all claimants given, and no objections made, the governor, in 1722, granted the townships of Chester, Nottingham, Barrington, and Rochester. Previously, but few settlements had been made beyond the original limits of Exeter, Portsmouth, and Dover.

From 1722 to 1726, the inhabitants again suffered the afflictions of an Indian war. Following the example of the French, the government offered premiums for scalps, which induced several volunteer companies to undertake expeditions against the enemy. One of these, commanded by Captain Lovewell, was greatly distinguished, at first by its success, and afterwards by its misfortunes.

A history of these Indian wars might be interesting, but would not be instructive. An account of the continual quarrels between the assignees of Mason and the people; between the governors and the assemblies; between the governors and lieutenant-governors; and between Massachusetts and New Hampshire concerning boundaries, would be neither. It may not be unimportant to allude to the frequent contests between the surveyors of the king's woods and the people. It was the duty of this officer to mark, with a broad arrow, all pine trees suitable for the royal navy; and these the people were forbidden to cut. The prohibition was often violated, and prosecutions were frequently instituted. Sometimes logs were seized at the mill, and then forcible resistance was not unusual. Once the surveyor, with his assistants, went to Exeter to seize logs, but on the evening of his arrival was attacked by a party dressed and painted like Indians, and severely beaten. The dispute about boundaries was decided, by the king, contrary to the plain letter of the charters, in favor of New Hampshire, for the reason, it has been hinted, that, by so deciding, the land bearing the best of mast trees would be assigned to her, in which case

they would be the property of the crown, while all that grew in Massachusetts belonged to that colony.

Long after the transfer from Mason to Allen, some defect in the conveyance was discovered, which rendered it void. In 1746, John Tufton Mason, a descendant of the original grantee, claiming the lands possessed by his ancestors, conveyed them, for fifteen hundred pounds, to twelve persons, subsequently called the Masonian proprietors. They, to silence opposition, voluntarily relinquished their claim to the lands already occupied by others.

They also granted townships on the most liberal terms. Reserving certain portions of the land for themselves, for the first settled ministers, and for schools, they required merely that the grantees should, within a limited time, erect mills and meeting-houses, clear out roads, and settle ministers of the gospel. In process of time, nearly all the Masonian lands, being about one fourth of the whole, were, in this manner, granted; and contention and lawsuits ceased to disturb the repose, and to impede the prosperity, of the colony.

CHAPTER V.

RHODE ISLAND.

IN the history of Massachusetts it has been stated that Roger Williams, a clergyman of Salem, was, in 1634, banished from that colony. He did not immediately depart; but in January, 1636, learning that preparations were made to send him to England, he left his home, and, after wandering in the woods, and residing many weeks with the Indians, arrived and seated himself at Seekonk. The governor of Plymouth warned him that the place was within the limits

of that colony ; and he therefore, in June, descended the Pawtucket, and, turning round Fox Point, slaked his thirst at a spring on the bank, which is yet shown to the curious in traditionary lore. Near this spring he erected his habitation ; and, in grateful acknowledgment of "God's merciful providence to him in his distress," he called the place Providence.

He found the land on which he had seated himself to be within the territory of the Narraganset Indians. In 1638, he purchased it of Canonicus and Miantonomoh, two of their chiefs. He divided it freely among all who would come and dwell upon it, "reserving to himself not one foot of land, nor one tittle of political power." Many soon settled around him ; magistrates were not known ; the people in a body exercised legislative, judicial, and executive power. It was one of the charges against him in Massachusetts, that he had avowed the doctrine that "to punish a man for matter of conscience is persecution." In his exile, he adhered to that doctrine ; he welcomed all who came ; and the patriarch of the settlement would allow no one to be held answerable for his religious opinions at any tribunal but his Maker's. The charter of Maryland was the first that secured liberty of conscience to all Christian sects ; the charity of Roger Williams embraced Jews, Mohammedans, and all the heathen.

His benevolence was not confined to his civilized brethren. He labored to enlighten, improve, and conciliate the savages. He learned their language, travelled among them, and gained the entire confidence of their chiefs. He had often the happiness, by his influence over them, of saving from injury the colony that had proclaimed him an outlaw, and driven him into the wilderness.

In 1638, William Coddington, and seventeen others, being persecuted for their religious tenets in Massachusetts, followed Williams to Providence. By his advice, they purchased of the Indians the Island of Aquetnec, now called Rhode Island, and removed thither. Coddington was chosen their judge, or chief

magistrate. The fertility of the soil, and the toleration of all Christian sects, attracted numerous emigrants from the adjacent settlements.

When the New England colonies, in 1643, formed their memorable confederacy, Rhode Island applied to be admitted a member. Plymouth objected, asserting that the settlements were within her boundaries. The commissioners decided that Rhode Island might enjoy all the advantages of the confederacy, if she would submit to the jurisdiction of Plymouth. She declined, proudly preferring independence to all the benefits of dependent union.

In 1643, Williams went to England as agent for both settlements; and the next year obtained, by the influence of Sir Henry Vane, a patent from the parliament, then exercising the supreme power, by which the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth were incorporated, with the power of governing themselves. In 1647, all the freemen met at Portsmouth, enacted a code of laws, and established a civil government. An assembly was constituted, to consist of six representatives from each town; and the executive and supreme judicial power was vested in a president and four assistants. Town courts were established for the trial of small causes, with an appeal to the president and assistants.

The executive committee of parliament had given to Coddington a commission to govern the islands in the bay. This interfered with the patent which had been granted at the solicitation of Williams, and threatened the dismemberment of the colony. In 1651, he and John Clarke were appointed agents, and sent to England to persuade the committee to withdraw the commission. Again he sought the assistance of Vane, and again succeeded. He returned to Rhode Island; Clarke remained in London, and long acted as the faithful agent of the colony.

Upon the application of the inhabitants, the king, in 1663, granted a charter incorporating the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. It declared

that no person should be molested or called in question for any difference in matters of religion. For the government of the colony, it vested the supreme power in an assembly, to consist of a governor or deputy-governor, ten assistants, and representatives from the several towns, all to be chosen by the freemen. This charter still remains in force; the state not having, like her sisters, formed a constitution for herself.

The benevolence, justice, and pacific policy of Williams secured to the colony an almost total exemption from Indian hostility. He continued to reside at Providence, sometimes, by the choice of the people, holding the office of president, sometimes that of assistant, and sometimes that of deputy. He died in 1683, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

When Andros was made governor of New England, he dissolved the charter government of Rhode Island, and ruled the colony with the assistance of a council appointed by himself. After he was deposed and imprisoned at Boston, the freemen met at Newport, and voted to resume their charter. All the officers who had been displaced three years before, were rechosen; and all accepted the several offices, but Walter Clarke, who was rechosen governor. In his stead, the assembly appointed Henry Bull, a Quaker, the only one living of all who came with Coddington, in 1638.

The colony, happily situated for commerce, cheaply governed, too small to attract the cupidity of England, increased continually in wealth and population. In 1730, the number of inhabitants was eighteen thousand; in 1761, it was forty thousand. Brown University was founded at Warren in 1764, and was removed, a few years after, to Providence. It takes its name from Nicholas Brown, who gave to the institution five thousand dollars.

CHAPTER VI.

CONNECTICUT.

IN the year 1630, the Plymouth Company granted to the earl of Warwick, and in 1631, the earl assigned to Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, the territory which now constitutes the state of Connecticut. Among the assignees, besides those mentioned, were Rich, Fiennes, Pym, and Hambden, distinguished Puritans, and active friends of liberty in the contest between King Charles and the parliament. So little was then known of the geography of the country, that the grant was made to extend, in longitude, from the Atlantic to the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. It was upon this clause in her charter, that Connecticut, long afterwards, founded her claim to land in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

About the time of the date of the grant, a chief of an Indian tribe which owned the country on Connecticut River, visited Plymouth and Boston, and earnestly solicited the respective governors to make a settlement on that river. He described the country as exceedingly fertile, and promised to pay eighty beaver-skins a year to the one who should comply with his request. It is supposed that his object was, not only to profit from the trade of the English, but to secure their aid to protect his tribe from their enemies, the Pequods. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, and a few others, accordingly visited the country, and selected a place near the mouth of the little river in Windsor, for the establishment of a trading house.

The Dutch at New York, apprized of this project of the English, determined to anticipate them, and immediately despatched a party, who erected a fort at Hartford. In September, 1633, a company from Plymouth, having prepared the frame of a house, put it on board a vessel, and, passing the fort, conveyed it to the

place previously selected. In October, they raised, covered, and fortified it with palisades. The Dutch, considering them intruders, sent, the next year, a band of seventy men to drive them from the country; but, finding them strongly posted, they relinquished the design.

In the autumn of 1635, many of the inhabitants of Dorchester and Watertown, in Massachusetts, having heard of the fertile meadows on Connecticut River, removed thither, and began settlements at Weathersfield and Windsor. During the next winter, their sufferings from famine were extreme. So destitute were they of provisions, that many, in dread of starvation, returned, in December, to Massachusetts. In their journey through the dreary wilderness, at this inclement season, they encountered indescribable hardships.

In the same year, the assignees above named, desirous of commencing a settlement, sent over, as their agent and governor, Mr. John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, with instructions to erect a fort at the mouth of the river, and commodious houses, as well for settlers as for such gentlemen of quality as might determine to emigrate. Hearing, at Boston, where he landed, that the Dutch were preparing to take possession of the same place, he repaired thither immediately, began his fort, and mounted his cannon. A few days afterwards, a party of Dutch troops arrived, but were not permitted to land.

The next spring, those who had been compelled by famine to revisit Massachusetts, returned to Connecticut. In June, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Cambridge, "the light of the western churches," and about one hundred men, women, and children, belonging to his congregation, left their homes to establish themselves on Connecticut River. Their route lay through an unexplored wilderness. They travelled on foot, drove their cattle before them, and subsisted on the milk of their cows. They had no guide but the compass, no shelter, no pillow, and no guard. Many had recently

left England, where they had lived in comfort and affluence. Mrs. Hooker was borne on a litter. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey, travelling but ten miles a day. They seated themselves at Hartford, having first purchased lands of the Indians.

In 1637, all the settlements in New England were involved in hostilities with the Pequods, a tribe of Indians inhabiting New London and the country around it. Some account of this war has been given in the history of Massachusetts. Previous to any expedition against them, they had killed many of the emigrants to Connecticut, had captured others, and tortured them to death. In the short war which followed, their surviving brethren, for bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering, were not surpassed by any portion of the English troops.

At first, the emigrants acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts. In January, 1639, the freemen, having convened at Hartford, adopted a constitution for themselves. They ordained that two general courts, or assemblies, should be held annually, one in April, the other in September; that at the court held in April, styled the Court of Election, all the freemen should assemble together and choose a governor, six magistrates, and all the public officers; that the several towns should choose deputies, who should meet, as well when the court of election was held, in April, as in September, and they, in conjunction with the governor and magistrates, should have power to enact laws, and perform all necessary public duties. The magistrates were authorized to administer justice according to established laws, "and, for want thereof, according to the rule of the word of God." At this time, the colony consisted of only three towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield; each of which was empowered to send four deputies.

In the same year, George Fenwick, one of the patentees, came over with his family, and settled at the mouth of the river. In honor of Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, he called the place Saybrook. Others

afterwards joined him; and for several years they were governed by their own magistrates and laws. In 1644, Mr. Fenwick, for seven thousand dollars, assigned to the general court of Connecticut the fort at Saybrook, and all the rights conferred by the patent from the Plymouth Company in England. This settlement then became a part of the colony. The claim of Plymouth colony, founded upon their having first made an establishment at Windsor, had been previously purchased.

In the mean time, another colony had been planted within the limits of the Connecticut patent. In June, 1637, two large ships arrived at Boston, from England, having on board Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and many others, whom pious motives had impelled to emigrate to New England. Being highly respectable, and some of them possessing great wealth, the general court of Massachusetts, desirous of detaining them in the colony, offered them any place they might select for a plantation.

Wishing, however, to institute a civil and religious community, conforming in all things to their peculiar principles, they removed, the next year, to Quinnipiac, which they called New Haven. Soon after their arrival, at the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they subscribed what they termed a Plantation Covenant, solemnly binding themselves, "until otherwise ordered, to be governed in all things, of a civil as well as religious concern, by the rules which the Scripture held forth to them." They purchased of the natives large tracts of land, and laid out their town in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city.

In 1639, all the free planters, assembled in a large barn, proceeded to lay the foundation of their civil and religious polity. They resolved that none but church members should be allowed the privilege of voting, or be elected to office; that all the freemen should annually assemble and elect the officers of the colony; and that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of the commonwealth. Such was

the original constitution of New Haven; but as the population increased, and new towns were settled, different regulations were adopted, and the institutions and laws became gradually assimilated to those of Connecticut.

With the Dutch at New York both colonies had constant and vexatious disputes. The former claimed all the territory as far east as Connecticut River: the latter complained that the Dutch often plundered their property; that they sold guns and ammunition to the Indians, and even encouraged them to make war upon the English. The fear of attack from that quarter was one of the reasons which, in 1643, induced the colonies of New England to form a confederation for their mutual defence.

The criminal code of Connecticut was completed in the year 1642. Idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, unnatural lusts, manstealing, cursing and smiting father or mother, and several other crimes, were made punishable with death. In the statute, the several passages of Scripture, upon which the various enactments were founded, were referred to.

Tobacco having just begun to come into use, a law was passed, in 1647, that no person under twenty years of age, nor any other who had not already accustomed himself to the use of it, should take any, without having obtained a certificate from a physician that it was useful for him, and also a license from the court. The penalty was a fine of sixpence, which was ordered to be paid "without gainsaying."

In 1650, a treaty of amity and partition was concluded at Hartford, between the English and Dutch, the latter relinquishing their claim to the territory of Connecticut, except the lands which they actually occupied. Soon after, England and Holland were involved in war with each other, but their colonies in America agreed to remain at peace. Notwithstanding this agreement, the Dutch governor was detected in concerting with the Indians a plot for the total extirpation of the English.

Connecticut and New Haven were alarmed; a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies was called, and evidence of the plot laid before them. A majority was in favor of war; but the colony of Massachusetts, being remote from the danger, was averse to it. As she was much stronger than either of the others, it was, at the suggestion of her deputies, resolved that agents should first be sent to demand of the Dutch governor an explanation of his conduct.

The agents obtained no satisfactory explanation. On their return, another meeting of the commissioners was held at Boston, additional testimony was laid before them, and several ministers of Massachusetts were invited to assist at their deliberations — a practice not unusual at that period. The ministers, after considering the subject, declared, "that the proofs of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of the dear saints of God, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive as to bear up their hearts with the fulness of persuasion which was meet in commending the case to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations; and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword." But all the commissioners, except one, were of opinion that recent aggressions justified, and self-preservation dictated, an appeal to the sword. They were about to declare war, when the general court of Massachusetts, in direct violation of one of the articles of the confederation, resolved, "that no determination of the commissioners, though all should agree, should bind the colony to engage in hostilities."

At this declaration, Connecticut and New Haven felt alarmed and indignant. They considered the other colonies too weak, without the assistance of Massachusetts, to contend with the Dutch and their Indian allies. They argued, entreated, and remonstrated, but she continued inflexible. They then represented their danger to Cromwell, and implored his assistance. He, with his usual promptitude, sent a fleet for their pro-

tection, and for the conquest of their enemies; but peace in Europe, intelligence of which reached New England soon after the arrival of the fleet, saved the Dutch from subjugation, and relieved the colonies from the dread of massacre.

After Charles II. was restored to the throne, Connecticut applied to him for a royal charter. A trifling circumstance induced him, forgetting all his arbitrary maxims, to comply with her wishes to their utmost extent. Her agent, Mr. Winthrop, having an extraordinary ring, which had been given to his grandfather by Charles I., presented it to his son. He immediately granted a charter more liberal in its provisions than any that had yet been granted, and confirming, in every particular, the constitution which the people had themselves adopted.

This charter comprehended New Haven; but, for several years, the people of that colony utterly refused to consent to the union. In this opposition to the commands of the king and the remonstrances of Connecticut, they persevered until 1665, when the apprehension of the appointment of a general governor, and of their being united with some other colony, having a charter less favorable to liberty, impelled them, though reluctantly, to yield.

In the war with Philip, which began in 1675, Connecticut suffered less than her sister colonies. Her aid, however, in full proportion to her strength, was always freely afforded; and no troops surpassed her volunteers in bravery and enterprise. A large number, and many of them officers, were killed at the assault upon the fort at Narraganset.

When Charles II., in 1664, granted the New Netherlands to the duke of York, the territory of Connecticut was included in the same patent. In 1675, Major Andros, who had been appointed his governor by the duke, came by water, with an armed force, to Saybrook, to take possession of the fort at that place. Information of his purpose had been communicated to Deputy-Governor Leet, who despatched Captain Bull, with a de-

tachment of the militia of Hartford, to oppose him. On his arrival there, he found the fort already manned by the militia of the place. Major Andros, being permitted to land, directed his secretary to read his commission in presence of the assembled people. Captain Bull, with resolute voice and manner, commanded the secretary to forbear; and proceeded himself to read a protest which had been forwarded by the assembly, then sitting at Hartford. The major, seeing himself the weakest, and pleased with Bull's boldness and soldier-like appearance, told him his horns ought to be tipped with gold, desisted, and returned to New York.

The lords of trade and plantations, desirous of obtaining information concerning the colonies, forwarded certain queries to the several governors, which they were requested to answer. By the reply of the governor of Connecticut, dated in 1680, it appears that the colony then contained twenty-six towns; that the militia consisted of two thousand five hundred and seven; that the annual exports amounted to forty-four thousand dollars; that the whole number of trading vessels was twenty-seven, the tonnage of which was one thousand and fifty tons. The population is supposed to have been about twelve thousand.

In 1686, King James II., desirous of annulling, not only the charters which had been granted to his English cities, but those also which had been granted to his American colonies, summoned the governor of Connecticut to appear and show cause why her charter should not be declared void; and Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor of New England, advised the colony, as the course best calculated to insure the good-will of his majesty, to resign it voluntarily into his hands, he having been instructed to receive it. But the people estimated too highly the privileges it conferred to surrender it until necessity compelled them.

Sir Edmund, therefore, repaired, with a body of troops, to Hartford, where the assembly were in session, and demanded of them the charter. They hes-

itated and debated until evening. It was then produced, and laid upon the table, a large number of people being present. Suddenly, the candles were extinguished. With counterfeited haste, they were again relighted; but the charter could no where be found. In the dark, it had been privately carried off by a Captain Wadsworth, and concealed in a hollow tree. Sir Edmund, however, assumed the government of the colony, and ruled with the same absolute sway, though not with the same oppressive tyranny, as in Massachusetts.

When James was driven from his throne and kingdom, and his governor deposed, Connecticut resumed her former government. The assembly voted a flattering address to King William. The suit, instituted for the purpose of annulling her charter, was abandoned; and her inhabitants, while enjoying greater privileges than any of their brethren, had reason to congratulate themselves upon their address and good fortune in preserving them.

But, not long afterwards, they were again called upon to defend these privileges from encroachment. In 1692, Colonel Fletcher was appointed governor of New York, and was authorized, by his commission, to take command of the militia of Connecticut. This power having been given, by the charter, to the governor of the colony, he determined not to relinquish it, and in this determination was supported by the people.

The next year, when the general court were in session, Colonel Fletcher repaired to Hartford, and required that the militia of the colony should be placed under his command. This was resolutely refused. He then ordered the train-bands of the city to be assembled. This being done, he appeared before them, and directed his aid to read to them his commission and instructions from the king.

Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer of the militia, present, instantly ordered the drums to beat; and such was the noise, that nothing else could be heard.

Colonel Fletcher commanded silence; and again his aid began to read. "Drum, drum, I say!" exclaimed Wadsworth; and a command so acceptable to the players was obeyed with spirit. Once more the colonel commanded silence, and a pause ensued. "Drum, drum, I say!" cried the captain, and, turning to Governor Fletcher, addressed him, with energy in his voice, and meaning in his looks — "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!"

Deeming it unwise to contend with such a spirit, Colonel Fletcher desisted, left Hartford the next night, and returned to New York. A representation of the opposing claims being made to the king, he decided that the governor of Connecticut should have the command of the militia; but in time of war, a certain number should be placed under the orders of Fletcher.

In 1700, Yale College was founded. It owes its existence to the beneficence and public spirit of the clergy. It was first established at Saybrook; and, in 1702, the first degrees were there conferred. Elihu Yale made several donations to the institution, and from him it derives the name it bears. A succession of able instructors has raised it to a high rank among the literary institutions of the country.

In 1708, an act was passed by the legislature, requiring the ministers and delegates of churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution for the colony. A meeting was in consequence held at Saybrook, the result of which was the celebrated Saybrook Platform. At the subsequent session of the legislature, it was enacted that all the churches, united according to this Platform, should be owned as established by law, allowing, however, to other churches the right of exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences.

In the several abortive attempts to reduce the French settlements in Canada, and in the expedition against Louisburg, Connecticut furnished her full quota of troops, and bore her proportion of the expenses. Of

these a history is elsewhere given. After the death of Philip, most of the Indians abandoned her territory, and seldom returned to molest the inhabitants; who, living in the enjoyment of all the privileges they desired, felt no inducement, and were afforded no opportunity, to perform such actions as enliven the pages of history.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW YORK.

THE object of Columbus, in his first voyage, was to arrive at the East Indies by sailing directly west. By the discoveries then and afterwards made, it was ascertained that a continent or large island lay in that route; and, as its extent was not known, subsequent navigators imagined that those rich countries might be reached by sailing around its northern extremity. Among those who then endeavored to discover this North-West Passage, in search of which heroism and fortitude have been displayed in recent times, was Henry Hudson, an Englishman. For this purpose, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he made, in the employment of English merchants, two voyages into the seas around Spitzbergen and Greenland. His employers were discouraged by his ill success; but he, still animated by hope, soon after proposed to the Dutch East India Company to sail, in search of the passage, in their service.

They provided a small vessel, with which, in the spring of 1609, he departed on his third voyage. Passing beyond Greenland, he came to the American continent, and then, turning south, sailed along the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay, in the hope, of which we now see the folly, of finding some strait leading to the ocean which washes the shores of Hindostan. He

then turned back, entered, first, Delaware Bay, and, in September, the harbor of New York. He sailed up the river which bears his name, until he had passed the highlands, and sent a boat to explore it farther, which ascended above Albany. He traded and fought with the natives who dwelt on its banks, returned to the ocean, and, near the close of the year, arrived at Dartmouth, in England.

He sent to his employers a flattering account of the countries which he had visited, and in subsequent years ships were despatched by merchants of Amsterdam to traffic with the natives on the banks of the Hudson. Upon the Island of New York, then called Manhattan, a fort was erected in 1614, and the next year another, called Fort Orange, on an island just below Albany. Trade with the natives, not planting a colony, was the sole object of these voyages.

It has already been related, that Argal, coming from Virginia to Manhattan in 1613, obliged the Dutch traders to submit to the English. They yielded only to superior force, and, as soon as he left them, ceased to think of English supremacy. In 1614, the government of the Netherlands granted to a company the exclusive right, for a short period, of trading with newly-discovered lands. In 1618, a charter was granted to another company, but under it no measures were undertaken. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was incorporated, to which was granted the exclusive right of trading to the American coast. This company directed their attention principally to that part of the country, visited by Hudson, between Delaware Bay and Connecticut River, which became known by the name of New Netherlands. Delaware River was called South River; the Hudson, sometimes, the North River; and the Connecticut, Fresh River. In 1623, they built a fort on the Delaware, a few miles below Camden, and called it Fort Nassau. Peter Minuits was sent over by the company, as their commercial agent, and for six years performed the duties of governor. The traders dwelt in huts on the Island of

Manhattan. Fort Orange was an outpost for the convenience of trading with the Indians, who roamed the forests between that place and the great river of Canada. It is not known that any family came to the country before 1625, when a child of European parentage was born on Long Island.

In 1629, the company began to think of planting a colony in the New Netherlands. An ordinance was adopted that any one who, within four years, should transport fifty souls, and purchase the Indian title, should become lord of the manor, or patron, and have the absolute property of the land he should colonize. The tract might extend, if lying on one side of the river only, sixteen miles; if on both sides, eight miles thereon, and indefinitely into the country. Several tracts were taken up, or patented; and it was about this time that five Indian chiefs, for parcels of goods, sold to an agent of Van Rensselaer a tract extending from the mouth of the Mohawk to twelve miles south of Albany. Peter Minuits was displaced, and Walter van Twiller appointed in his stead.

In 1633, Van Twiller built a fort at Hartford, which he called the Hirse of Good Hope; and the Dutch, for many years, maintained a trading establishment at that place. In 1638, William Kieft was appointed governor. He had petty, but troublesome, contests with the English on Connecticut River, and with the Swedes who had begun a settlement on the Delaware. With the Indians he had severer conflicts. A Dutchman was killed by an Indian who had been robbed. The chiefs could not give up the murderer, but offered two hundred fathoms of wampum to purchase peace. Kieft preferred vengeance, and, seeking a favorable opportunity, despatched to one of their towns a party of soldiers, who fell upon the unsuspecting Indians, and barbarously massacred nearly a hundred. A fierce and furious war followed. Dutch villages were laid waste; and many men, women, and children were killed, and many made captive.

The colony was threatened with ruin, and sought

for peace. At a conference held on Long Island between Dutch agents and Indian chiefs, one of the latter addressed the former — “When you first arrived on our shores, you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people. The traders whom your first ships left on our shores to traffic till their return, were cherished by us; we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood.” By the mediation of Roger Williams, then fortuitously at Manhattan, a peace was concluded.

But the thirst of vengeance was not appeased, and the war was renewed. Kieft appointed Captain Underhill, who had been a soldier in Europe, and had made himself conspicuous in New Hampshire for his eccentricities in religion and conduct, to the command of his troops. Collecting a flying party of one hundred and fifty men, he was enabled to preserve the settlements from total destruction. The number of Indians whom he killed in the course of the war was supposed to exceed four hundred. A severe battle was fought on that part of Horseneck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious: on both sides great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

Peace was again concluded, to the great joy of the colony; but Kieft was execrated as the guilty cause of their sufferings. In 1648, he set sail for Holland, but suffered shipwreck on the coast of Wales, and perished. He was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, the most able and intelligent of all the Dutch governors. Hitherto the company had retained a monopoly of the trade of the colony: now it was made free to all; export duties were substituted; and the change had a favorable influence upon the prosperity of the colony.

But the Puritans pressed upon their eastern boundary, and they trembled for their establishment at

Hartford. In 1650, Stuyvesant met the commissioners of the New England colonies at that place, where, after much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was agreed upon. Long Island was divided between them; the Dutch retained the lands which they actually occupied in Connecticut, and surrendered all claim to the residue.

The Swedes, on their south-western boundary, were not so powerful as the Puritans. The Dutch had built a fort at New Castle, which Risingh, the governor of the Swedes, having for the moment the superiority of numbers, attacked and captured. Stuyvesant collected a force of six hundred men, subjugated the Swedes, and established over the country the jurisdiction of the Dutch.

The mercantile corporation which governed the New Netherlands took little thought of the religious belief of its inhabitants. All sects were tolerated; and immigrants came from all quarters. Many came from New England, and brought with them the activity of mind and love of freedom which distinguished that region. The leaven was sufficient to produce fermentation. A meeting of the people was held, at which a memorial, drawn up by George Baxter, a Puritan, was unanimously adopted, demanding "that no new laws should be enacted but with consent of the people, and that none should be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people." Stuyvesant pronounced these "the visionary notions of a New England man." "We derive our authority," said he, "from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects;" and he commanded the assembly to disperse on pain of arbitrary punishment.

But the time was near when a change of masters would bring in its train the enjoyment of English liberties. England had always claimed the whole country since its discovery by the Cabots, and Charles II. now determined to assert his right to it. In 1664, he granted to his brother James, duke of York and Albany, sev-

eral tracts of land in America, and among them Long Island, and all the territory between Connecticut River and Delaware Bay; and, though England and Holland were then at peace, immediately sent three ships and six hundred troops to put him in possession of his grant. Colonel Robert Nichols conducted the expedition. The squadron, having visited Boston, reached the place of its destination in August, and Nichols immediately sent to the governor a summons to surrender. Stuyvesant refused; and thereupon Nichols, aware of the discontents which existed among the people, published a proclamation, promising that, should the place be peaceably surrendered, they should enjoy their property, and all the rights of English subjects. The burgomasters and people assembled in the town hall, and there agreed upon terms of capitulation, which were afterwards ratified by Nichols and Stuyvesant. Soon afterwards, detachments from the fleet took possession of Fort Orange and the forts on the Delaware. In compliment to the duke, the name Manhattan was changed to New York, and Orange to Albany.

Nichols assumed the government of the country, and continued, for three years, to rule over it with absolute power, but with great lenity and justice. To secure the Indians from fraud, he ordained that no purchase of land from them should be valid, if made without the governor's license. He incorporated the inhabitants of New York, ordaining that the officers should be a mayor, five aldermen and a sheriff; before, they were a scout, burgomasters, and schepens. In 1667, he was succeeded by Colonel Francis Lovelace. He is represented as a moderate and just man; but many of the people complained that the privileges of Englishmen were withheld, and refused to pay the taxes which he imposed. That the discontent was general, is probable, from the known arbitrary principles of the duke of York, and the love of freedom of the population.

In 1673, England and Holland being then at war,

several Dutch ships were despatched to reconquer the country. On their arrival at Staten Island, a few miles below the city, John Manning, who had command of the fort, sent down a messenger, and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbor, landed their men, and took possession of the fort and city without firing or receiving a shot. The forts on the Delaware submitted also without resistance.

Captain Anthony Colve was appointed governor; but he remained in authority for a few months only. The next year, peace was concluded, and the country restored to the English. The duke of York, apprehensive that the conquest by the Dutch deprived him of all his rights, and that they were not restored to him by the treaty, obtained a new patent, confirming his title to the province, and appointed Major Andros, the same who was afterwards the tyrant of New England, to be governor over his territories in America.

Andros was inducted into office on the 31st of October, 1674. From his official acts, he seems to have been invested with supreme power. The next year, he appointed a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, for the city of New York, and ordered that four aldermen should constitute a court of sessions; he imposed taxes at pleasure; and, moreover, on the recommendation of the duke, appointed one Nicholas Rensselaer, a Dutch clergyman, and claiming the manor of Rensselaerwick, to be minister of a church at Albany. As the duke was a Catholic, and as the Catholics, from their numerous bloody persecutions and universal intolerance, were regarded by the people, who were nearly all Protestants, with dislike and dread, the congregation were not disposed to receive for their minister a man recommended by him and appointed by his governor. A quarrel ensued; the magistrates of Albany, among whom was one Jacob Leisler, imprisoned Rensselaer upon a charge of uttering certain "dubious words" in a

sermon. Andros released him, and caused warrants to be issued to compel the magistrates to give security, in the sum of five thousand pounds, to appear and justify themselves for confining Rensselaer. Leisler refused to give the security, and was imprisoned. Andros, fearing to increase the excitement, desisted from his pretensions. The obnoxious minister returned home, and the manor was afterwards confirmed to his relative, Killian van Rensselaer.

As the privileges of Englishmen, promised at the time of the surrender to Nichols, had never yet been enjoyed, the people evinced their discontent. Long Island was settled principally from New England. Before the grant to the duke, the eastern part of it belonged to Connecticut, and then of course exercised the privilege of choosing representatives. Several towns on the island held public meetings, and expressed their desire to enjoy their promised privileges; and some of the merchants of New York denied the legality of duties imposed arbitrarily. Dyer, the collector, was indicted as a traitor, for encroaching upon the liberties of English subjects, and was sent to England for trial. Disturbed by the opposition of the people, Andros made a voyage to London for instructions. The duke conceded nothing, but that the present duties should expire at the end of three years. After the governor's return, the duties were increased; and, regardless of former experience, he interfered in religious matters, by attempting to exercise control over the Reformed Dutch Church, which increased the disgust and jealousy of the people.

In 1683, Andros was recalled, and Colonel Thomas Dongan appointed governor in his stead. He was a Catholic, but, being a wise and just man, had proper conceptions of his duties as governor, and disdained to submit to be, in all things, the instrument of the duke. It is said that William Penn advised the duke to allow the people to choose representatives. He, in fact, gave such instructions to Dongan. He sent over by him a "Charter of Liberties," which declared, that "supreme

legislative power shall forever reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representatives without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall, at any time, be any ways disquieted or questioned for any differences of opinion." The first assembly, consisting of seventeen members, met in the following August, and enacted many important laws. The people were pacified, and enjoyed the prospect of a happy futurity. But for several subsequent years, no assembly, it is believed, was held in the colony.

During the whole of Colonel Dongan's administration, most of his time was occupied in the management of Indian affairs, in which he was sagacious, and generally successful. The interior of the colony was originally inhabited by a confederacy which consisted at first of five, and afterwards of six, nations of Indians, the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and Tuscaroras. This confederacy, tradition declares, was formed for mutual defence against the western Indians, and displayed much of the wisdom and sagacity which mark the institutions of a civilized people. By their union they had become formidable to the surrounding tribes. Their territory was prolific of game; they were brave in battle, and, beyond all other Indians, were eloquent in council. By some authors they are styled Iroquois, by others, Mingoes.

When Champlain was at Quebec, he, with a body of Frenchmen, accompanied a party of Canada Indians in an expedition against the confederates. The latter were defeated, and this defeat implanted in their bosoms an inveterate hostility against the French. The Dutch and English the more easily acquired and preserved their friendship; they enjoyed the profit of their trade, and were aided by them in all their wars. The gov-

ernors of Canada often sent Jesuits and emissaries to convert them and gain their good will; but, not succeeding, they determined at length to treat them as enemies.

In 1684, De la Barre, the governor of Canada, marched to attack them, with an army of seventeen hundred men. His troops suffered so much from hardships, famine, and sickness, that he was compelled to ask peace of those whom he had come to exterminate. He invited the chiefs of the Five Nations to meet him at his camp, and those of three of them accepted the invitation. Standing in a circle, formed by the chiefs and his own officers, he addressed a speech to Garrangula, of the Onondaga tribe, in which he accused the confederates of conducting the English to the trading grounds of the French, and threatened them with war and extermination if they did not alter their behavior.

Garrangula, knowing the distresses of the French troops, heard these threats with contempt. After walking five or six times round the circle, he addressed the following bold and sarcastic language to De la Barre, calling him Yonnondio, and the English governor, Corlear.

"Yonnondio, I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them. Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had consumed all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French; or that the great lakes had overflowed their banks, and surrounded our castles, so that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, you must have dreamed so, and the curiosity of so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now, you are undeceived; for I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive.

"I thank you, in their name, for bringing back into their country the pipe of peace, which your predeces-

sor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yon nondio; I do not sleep; I have my eyes open; and the sun, which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he was dreaming. He says that he only came to smoke the great pipe of peace with the Onondagas. But Garrangula says that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

"We carried the English to our lakes, to trade there with the Utawawas, and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacs brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yon nondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people.

"Hear, Yon nondio; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. When they buried the hatchet at Cadaracqui, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that, instead of a retreat for soldiers, the fort might be a rendezvous for merchants. Take care that the many soldiers who appear there do not choke the tree of peace, and prevent it from covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you that our warriors shall dance under its leaves, and will never dig up the hatchet to cut it down, till their brother Yon nondio or Corlear shall invade the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors."

De la Barre was mortified and enraged at this bold and sarcastic reply, but, submitting to necessity, concluded a treaty of peace, and returned to Montreal. Soon after, De Nonville was appointed his successor. He brought over a reinforcement of troops; strengthened Fort Cadaracqui, afterwards called Fort Frontinac, and situated at the outlet of Lake Ontario, on the north

shore ; and called to his aid the Indians around the Lakes Michigan and Huron, with the purpose of destroying, at first the Senecas, and then the rest of the confederated tribes. In the mean time, he sent emissaries among them to allay their jealousy. But Colonel Dongan suspected his object ; and though instructed by the duke — who was blindly attached to the French king — to coöperate with De Nonville, he, mindful of his duty to the province, admonished the Indians to be on their guard. In June, 1687, an army of French and Indians, nearly 3000 strong, proceeded from Montreal to attack the Senecas. They landed at Tirondiquai, marched to the villages of the Senecas, which they found deserted, and hastened forward in pursuit of the fugitives. But suddenly, from the trees, and bushes, and high grass around, a deadly fire was poured upon them from an invisible enemy. The terrible war-whoop, arising on all sides, increased the confusion. The French troops, scattering, sought safety in the woods ; their Indian allies, less frightened, fought the Senecas in their own way, and at length compelled them to retire. De Nonville collected his troops, but, disheartened by the reception he had met with, proceeded no farther that day. On the next, he continued his march, but found no enemy to contend with. After destroying all the corn in that region, he led his troops to Niagara, and employed them in erecting a fort near the falls. In this fort, he left one hundred men, and returned to Montreal. It was afterwards besieged by the Iroquois, and all of the men but eight perished with hunger.

The Five Nations, enraged by treachery, and stimulated by success, assembled in great numbers, and made incursions into Canada. They compelled the French to abandon Fort Cadaracqui, and twice attacked Montreal, massacring more than a thousand of the inhabitants, and taking many prisoners, all of whom were tortured and burnt. These wars kept Colonel Dongan continually employed, and served to perpetuate the

enmity of the Iroquois against the French, and their attachment to the English.

In the mean time, the duke of York had ascended the throne of England. Claiming unlimited authority as king, and professing the Catholic religion, he was hated and feared by a great portion of the inhabitants, who were devoted to the cause of freedom and to the principles of the Protestants. The governor was also the object of their dislike and distrust. Catholics, countenanced by him, repaired in great numbers to the colony, and pious Protestants trembled for their religion. He was recalled in the beginning of 1688; but the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros to be governor over New York as well as New England, did not tend to lessen their discontent nor their fears.

In the spring of 1689, information was received from England, that the people had resolved to dethrone their sovereign, and offer the crown to William, prince of Orange, the husband of Mary, daughter of King James; and from Massachusetts, that the citizens had deposed and imprisoned Sir Edmund Andros, their governor. A rumor ran through the city that, on the next Sunday, the Catholics would attack the people while at church, massacre them, and declare for King James; and messengers came from Long Island, increasing the alarm by expressing doubts and fears. Many of that class, who, as their enemies afterwards said, "were not worth a groat," assembled in a tumultuary manner, repaired to the house of Jacob Leisler, a captain of one of the militia companies, and a wealthy German merchant, and requested him to lead them to attack the fort. He at first declined; but a party, led by Ensign Stoll, having taken possession, he, on the 2d of June, entered it as Stoll's superior officer, and was joyfully received by those who were present.

As yet, Leisler's party was not strong. No man of wealth or consideration had joined it. A report was circulated that three ships, with orders from the

prince, were sailing up the harbor. All the militia companies immediately joined him; a large number of the citizens assembled, and, following the example of the Bostonians, chose a "Committee of Safety." Colonel Nicholson, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor by Andros, made some attempts to preserve his authority, but soon, absconding in the night, set sail for England. It was agreed that the captains of the several militia companies should, in daily rotation, have command of the fort; but Leisler, from his age or standing in society, was regarded as the leader. Two delegates from Connecticut brought a copy of the proclamation, which had been issued in England, declaring William and Mary sovereigns of Great Britain, and delivered it to Leisler, who immediately, with all proper ceremony, proclaimed King William and Queen Mary, at first at the fort, and afterwards at the city hall, in the presence of the rejoicing people.

The men in authority, and "the men of figure," though friendly to the new sovereigns, were dissatisfied that all power should be usurped by the militia and their captains; and, unfortunately, the latter made no efforts to induce the former to unite with them. The mayor endeavored to exercise authority, but in vain; Nicholas Bayard, who was colonel of the militia, repaired to the Bowling Green, where they were then paraded, and ordered them, after placing a guard at the fort, to disperse; but his commands were disregarded, and he was ordered to depart. Leisler wrote to the government in England, giving an account of his conduct, and also a private letter to the king, detailing, in broken English, many unimportant particulars. In August, Milbourne, his son-in-law, arrived from England, and afterwards acted as his secretary. He was more capable of managing affairs than his father-in-law, and was considered the efficient leader.

Heretofore the mayor, sheriff, and clerk, had been appointed by the governor, and the aldermen and assistants elected by the people. At the election in September, the people chose new aldermen and as-

sistants, and also, by order of the committee of safety, a mayor, sheriff, and clerk; and, in October, Leisler, by proclamation, announced that, being authorized, by the committee, to confirm such officers as should be chosen by the Protestant freemen of the city, he accordingly confirmed by name the persons who had been elected. Van Cortlandt, the former mayor, and Colonel Bayard fled to Albany. Instructions from England had not yet been received; and they were waited for, by all classes, with great anxiety.

At Albany, the city government continued to exercise their former powers, but indecisively, as subordinates act when deprived of their leader. They gladly recognized William and Mary; but from them they had received no authority. They were kept in a state of alarm by intelligence that the savages were preparing to attack them; and they sent messengers to Leisler and the New England colonies for aid. Leisler, declaring that he had nothing to do with the civil power, forwarded some powder to the militia captains.

A suspicion was entertained at Albany that Leisler intended to send up troops, take possession of the fort, and govern in that city as well as in New York. A convention of the people was held, at which they voted to maintain the existing city government until orders came from their majesties, and appointed Colonel Schuyler, the mayor, commander of the fort. Soon after, Milbourne arrived from New York with fifty men, and asked to be admitted into the fort. He was referred to a convention of the people, then sitting, who received him cordially; and he addressed them at length, declaring that their charter was null, being granted by a Papist king; that their present officers had no authority; and that new officers ought to be elected by the people. He exhibited his commission, but was told that, being signed by private individuals, it would not be regarded. He gained many friends among the people, to whom he often appealed; and, when he returned to New York, left

his company under the command of an officer elected by themselves.

In the beginning of December, a letter arrived from the ministry in England, directed "to Francis Nicholson, or such as, for the time being, takes care for preserving the peace, and administering the laws, in his majesty's province of New York," and containing the wished-for instructions. The bearer had been long on the way, and, when he arrived, hesitated to whom he ought to deliver the letter. It happened that Colonel Bayard, who had returned privately to the city, heard that such a letter had arrived. He procured an interview with the bearer, and endeavored to get possession of it, promising to deliver it to Van Cortlandt, who, he alleged, was the only legal mayor; but the bearer, on consideration, declined, and delivered it to Leisler. It was immediately laid before the committee of safety, who advised Leisler to assume the style of lieutenant-governor, which he accordingly did, appointed his council, and proceeded to exercise all the powers of chief magistrate. The attempt of Bayard to gain possession of the letter, betrayed his presence in the city. He was arrested, committed to prison, and put in irons.

Soon after, Leisler wrote to the civil and military officers at Albany, that he had received orders from King William to take care of the province, and had commissioned Joachim Staats, whom Milbourne had left in command of his company, to take possession of "Fort Orange," and keep the soldiers in good order and discipline; but the Albany convention, doubting whether the king had sent any orders to Jacob Leisler, refused to acknowledge his authority.

The dethronement of King James brought on a war between England and France; and the usual consequence followed — a war between the Canadian Indians and the English colonies. De Nonville had been recalled, and Count Frontinac appointed governor of Canada. He was the ablest and most active of all the Canadian governors. In January, 1690, he despatched

several parties against the English settlements. One of these, consisting of Frenchmen and Caghnuaga Indians, was sent against Albany, but resolved to attack Schenectady. To the inhabitants of this village information was given of their danger; but they, judging it impossible for the enemy to march several hundred miles in the depth of winter, disregarded the intelligence. No regular watch was kept, nor military order observed.

The French and Indians arrived near the town on the 8th of February. They divided their number into small parties, that every house might be invested at the same time. On Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, they entered at the gates, which they found unshut. The inhabitants having retired to rest, universal stillness reigned. Suddenly, in every quarter, the horrid yell was heard. They sprang from their beds, conscious of the danger which surrounded them. Opening their doors, they met the savages, with uplifted tomahawks, on the threshold. Each, at the same instant, heard the cry of his affrighted neighbor. Soon succeeded the groans of the dying. In a few minutes, the buildings were on fire. Women were butchered, and children thrown alive into the flames. The Indians, frantic from slaughter, ran, with fatal haste, through the village, massacring many, who, in their attempts to escape, were betrayed by the light of their own houses.

Some eluded their pursuers; but a fate almost as dreadful awaited them. They were naked; a furious storm came on; Albany, their only refuge, was at a distance; and often their terror converted into savages the trees and wild beasts which they saw in their flight. Part arrived in safety; twenty-five lost their limbs by the severity of the cold. At Schenectady, sixty were killed, and twenty-five made prisoners.

Had not distractions prevailed in the colony, this distressing calamity would doubtless have been prevented. It was unfortunate that he, who wielded the chief power of the province, had not a clearer title to

exercise that power; and it was equally unfortunate that those opposed to him did not cast aside all selfish considerations, and yield him their cordial support. Among his most active opposers at Albany was Robert Livingston. Leisler having issued a warrant to apprehend him, he fled to Connecticut; and, when Milbourne returned to Albany in the spring, he found there no opposition. The property of the prominent individuals belonging to the opposition was confiscated—a measure which was never forgiven by the sufferers nor their posterity.

Leisler, having silenced or driven away his adversaries, now exerted all his faculties to fulfil the duties he had assumed. He sent agents to Connecticut and Massachusetts, to persuade them to unite with New York in an expedition against Canada. It was at length agreed that Massachusetts should despatch a fleet against Quebec, and the two other colonies an army against Montreal. The army, under General Winthrop, of Connecticut, proceeded as far as Wood Creek, which empties into Lake Champlain; but, finding no boats in readiness, and the Indians expected not appearing, they were obliged to return. The fleet, under Sir William Phipps, appeared before Quebec; but the return of the army to New York allowing the whole force of the province to repair to the assistance of the garrison, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise.

The enemies of Leisler attributed the failure of this expedition to his imbecility. He attributed it to the intrigues and misconduct of his adversaries, particularly of Livingston, and Allyn, the secretary of Connecticut. Upon the return of the army to Albany, he, in a fit of passion, caused Winthrop to be arrested and imprisoned, although he had acted according to the advice of a council of his officers. He was forcibly released by a party of Mohawks, and permitted to return to Connecticut.

Leisler, with reputation diminished and temper soured by ill success, continued to exercise all the

powers of lieutenant-governor. King William, harassed by important cares at home, found little time to attend to his distant province of New York. At length, in January, 1691, a Captain Ingoldsby arrived, with a company of troops, and stated verbally to Leisler, that Henry Sloughter had been appointed governor, and was on his way to New York. His enemies, now more bold, if not more numerous, than before, flocked around Ingoldsby, flattered him by their attentions, and influenced his conduct. He demanded the surrender of the fort. Leisler desired to see some commission or order from the ministry or the governor, but Ingoldsby could show none; and, not being permitted to enter the fort, he landed his men, and besieged it. While thus in durance, Leisler, in several proclamations, avowed his readiness to surrender all authority, whenever he could do so with propriety and safety.

Sloughter arrived on the 18th of March, 1691. The state of the province required an able and honest governor: this was destitute of talents, dissolute, avaricious, and poor. He was immediately surrounded by the enemies of Leisler, appointed his council from among them, and sent Ingoldsby to demand possession of the fort. Of the conduct of Leisler, on this day and the next, no account, deserving of implicit belief, has been given. His enemies declared that he peremptorily and contemptuously refused to surrender the fort. He may have required a written order to do so from the governor, and, being an uneducated German, may have used language to Ingoldsby, the force of which he did not understand. From the records of the council, it appears that he and Milbourne were arrested and committed to prison.

These men were now in the power of their enraged enemies. They were accused of murder and rebellion; a special court was organized to try them; they were convicted, and received sentence of death. But Sloughter hesitated to sign the warrant for their execution. He knew that they had many warm friends

among the people; and that, though they had sometimes erred, they had served King William and the Protestant cause with undoubted fidelity, and the most ardent zeal. When about to leave New York for Albany, he asked advice on the subject of his council. They, being mostly their bitter foes, advised him to sign the warrant. Still he hesitated; but their enemies, thirsting for vengeance, invited him to a feast; and there, when intoxicated, they presented to him the warrant, which he signed; and when he recovered his senses, the prisoners had ceased to live. The behavior of Leisler on the scaffold is represented to have been calm and dignified. He declared his innocence of purpose, prayed for his enemies, and recommended his family to the charity of the world. And bitterly did he lament that he had been persuaded to assume duties which he was incompetent to discharge. Subsequently, on application to the king, the estates of Leisler and Milbourne, which had been confiscated, were restored to their heirs; their bodies were taken up and reinterred, with great pomp, in the old Dutch church; and their descendants were considered honored rather than disgraced by the part they had acted.

In July, 1691, Sloughter, having returned from Albany, ended, by a sudden death, a short, weak, and turbulent administration. About the same time, Major Peter Schuyler, at the head of three hundred Mohawks, made a sudden and bold attack upon the French settlements at the north end of Lake Champlain. An army of eight hundred men was despatched from Montreal to oppose him. With these he had several irregular, but successful conflicts, in which he killed a number of the enemy greater than that of his whole party.

In 1692, Colonel Fletcher arrived as successor to Sloughter. He was a good soldier, was active, avaricious, and passionate. From the talents and information of Major Schuyler, he derived great assistance, and was governed by his advice, particularly in transactions relative to the Indians.

As a great portion of the inhabitants were Dutch, all the governors, to produce uniformity in religion and language, had encouraged English preachers and schoolmasters to settle in the colony. No one pursued this object with more zeal than Fletcher, who was devoted to the Church of England. At two successive sessions, he recommended the subject to the attention of the assembly; but the members, being generally attached to the Church of Holland, disregarded his recommendations. For this neglect, he gave them a severe reprimand.

The subject being laid before them, at a subsequent session, they passed a bill providing for the settlement, in certain parishes, of ministers of the gospel, to be chosen by the people. The council added an amendment, giving to the governor the power of approval or rejection. The house refused to concur in the amendment, at which Fletcher was so much enraged, that he commanded them instantly to attend him, and, addressing them in an angry speech, prorogued them to the next year. The bill, however, as passed by the assembly, afterwards became a law.

In 1697, a peace, which gave security and repose to the colonies, was concluded between Great Britain and France. The next year, the earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. He was particularly instructed to clear the American seas of the pirates who infested them, and who, it was suspected, had even received encouragement from Fletcher.

The government declining to furnish the necessary naval force, the earl engaged, with others, in a private undertaking against them. The associates, procuring a vessel of war, gave the command of it to a Captain Kid, and sent him to cruise against the pirates. He had been but a short time at sea, when, disregarding his instructions, he made a new contract with his crew, and, on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, became himself a daring, atrocious, and successful pirate.

Three years afterwards, he returned, burned his ship, and, with strange infatuation, appeared publicly

at Boston. He was recognized there by Lord Bellamont, who caused him to be apprehended, and sent to England, where he was tried, and executed. The earl and his partners, many of whom were noblemen residing in England, were accused of sharing in his plunder; but in all his examinations he declared them innocent. Afterwards, silver and gold, valued at about fourteen thousand dollars, and a quantity of jewels, were discovered on Gardiner's Island, and delivered to Lord Bellamont.

Notwithstanding the death of Leisler, the people were still divided into Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. Fletcher had been the instrument of the latter; Lord Bellamont espoused the cause of the former. He, however, persecuted no one, but exercised authority with justice and moderation. He died in 1701.

The next year, Lord Cornbury was appointed governor. He presented a striking proof of the folly of hereditary distinctions. He was the grandson of the celebrated earl of Clarendon, but possessed not one of the virtues of his ancestor. Mean, profligate, and unprincipled, he was a burden to his friends at home, and was sent to America to be beyond the reach of his creditors.

He declared himself an anti-Leislerian; and the first assembly that he summoned was composed principally of men of that party. They presented him two thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his voyage. They raised several sums of money for public purposes; but, the expenditure being intrusted to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own use.

His acts of injustice and oppression, his prodigality, his indecent and vulgar manners, rendered him universally odious. In 1708, the assemblies of New York and of New Jersey, of which colony he was also governor, complained to the queen of his misconduct. She removed him from office. He was soon after arrested by his creditors, and remained in custody until the death of his father, when he returned to England, and took his seat in the house of lords.

A proceeding of the house of representatives, near the close of his administration, ought not to be passed over without notice. Wearied by their sufferings, they appointed a committee of grievances, who reported a series of resolutions having reference to recent transactions, which resolutions were adopted by the house. One of them, in explicit language, asserted the principle, "that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or color whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property." It is not uninteresting to observe how early, in some of the colonies, were sown the seeds of the American revolution.

In 1710, General Hunter, who had been appointed governor, arrived in the province. He brought with him near three thousand Germans, some of whom settled in New York, and some in Pennsylvania. The latter transmitted to their native land such favorable accounts of the country which they had chosen for their residence, that many others followed, and settled in that colony. The numerous descendants of these Germans are honest, industrious, and useful citizens.

The prodigality of Lord Cornbury had taught the assembly an important lesson. Before his removal, they had obtained from the queen permission, in cases of special appropriations, to appoint their own treasurer. They now passed a bill confiding to this officer the disbursement of certain sums appropriated for ordinary purposes. The council proposed an amendment. The house denied the right of that body to amend a money bill. Both continuing obstinate, the governor prorogued them, and at their next session dissolved them.

At this time, war existed between England and France. In 1709, expensive preparations were made for an attack upon Canada, but the promised assistance not arriving from England, the enterprise was abandoned. In 1711, the project was resumed. A fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence, to attack Quebec; and an

army of four thousand men, raised by New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, marched to invade Canada, by the route of Lake Champlain. The fleet, shattered by a storm, was compelled to return. The army, informed of the disasters of the fleet, returned also, having accomplished nothing.

The people, approving the conduct of their representatives in relation to the revenue, had reelected nearly all of them, and they were now in session. To defray the expenses of the late expedition, they passed several bills, which were amended in the council. Between these two bodies another contest ensued. The representatives, deriving their authority from the people, considered themselves bound to watch over the expenditure of their money. The council, deriving their authority from the same source as the governor, were desirous of increasing his influence by giving him the management of the revenue. During this and a subsequent session, both continued inflexible. The governor, provoked at the obstinacy of the representatives, dissolved the assembly.

At the ensuing election, which was warmly contested, most of the members chosen were opposed to the governor. This assembly was dissolved by the death of the queen. The next was dissolved by the governor, soon after it first met, a majority of the representatives being known to be unfriendly to his views. The people became weary of contending. Most of the members chosen at the succeeding election were his friends and partisans, and, for several years, the utmost harmony existed between the different branches of the government.

Governor Hunter quitted the province in 1719, and his authority devolved on Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council. The next year, William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop of that name, was appointed governor. Turning his attention towards the wilderness, he perceived that the French, in order to connect their settlements in Canada and Louisiana, to secure to themselves the Indian trade, and to confine

the English to the sea-coast, were busily employed in erecting a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

He endeavored to defeat their design, by building a trading-house, and afterwards a fort, at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. But the French had the command of more abundant resources, and applied them to the accomplishment of their object with great activity and zeal. They launched two vessels upon that lake, and, going farther into the wilderness, erected a fort at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it. They had previously erected Fort Frontinac, commanding the outlet.

The assembly elected in 1716, had been so obsequious to the governor, that he continued it in existence until the clamors of the people induced him, in 1727, to dissolve it. That which next met was composed entirely of his opponents. The court of chancery, in which he presided, had become exceedingly unpopular. It had been instituted by an ordinance of the governor and council, without the concurrence of the assembly: the mode of proceeding was novel; and some of the decisions had given great offence to powerful individuals. The house passed resolutions declaring it "a manifest oppression and grievance," and intimating that its decrees were void. The governor instantly called the assembly before him, and dissolved it.

Being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, he was succeeded by Colonel Montgomery, upon whose death, in 1731, the supreme authority devolved upon Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council. Under his short and inefficient administration, the French were permitted to erect a fort at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of New York, from which parties of savages were often secretly despatched to destroy the English settlements.

Van Dam was superseded by William Cosby, who arrived in August, 1732. Having been the advocate, in parliament, of the American colonies, he was, at first, popular, but soon lost the affections and confidence of the people. When he came, having then

held his commission thirteen months, he brought instructions from the ministry that, during that time, the salary and perquisites of the office should be shared equally by him and Van Dam. He demanded half of the salary which the latter had received; but Van Dam, having ascertained that the governor had received, in perquisites, much more than the salary, demanded a balance of Cosby. Both persisted in their claims. The governor proceeded against his adversary in the court of chancery, where two of the judges were his partisans, and he himself presided. Van Dam employed the most able counsel in the colony, who excepted to the jurisdiction of the court. Chief-Justice Morris gave his opinion in favor of the exception; Delancey and Philipse decided against it. Morris was removed, and, without advice of council, Delancey was appointed chief justice, and Philipse second judge, to hold their commissions during pleasure. Ultimately this court decided in favor of the governor.

While the trial of this cause was going on, the whole population took sides with one or the other of the litigant parties. At this time, Bradford, formerly of Philadelphia, published a newspaper in New York, which was the organ of the governor's party; and John Peter Zenger another, which was the organ of Van Dam's or the popular party. The ballads, squibs, and serious charges in the latter irritated the governor and his council to madness. They passed an order directing the city magistrates to cause the paper to be burnt by the common whipper; but the magistrates not only refused to obey this order, but forbade any of their officers to execute it. Chief-Justice Delancey strove to induce the grand jury to indict Zenger, but failed. He was then committed to prison by order of the council, on the charge of publishing seditious libels; and, the grand jury again refusing to indict him, the attorney-general prosecuted him by information. At the first term, the same counsel who had been retained by Van Dam were employed to defend Zenger. They objected to the competency of the

court to try him, the judges having been appointed during the pleasure of the governor, and without advice of council. This objection was urged with such boldness, that the judges, after overruling it, dismissed the advocates from the bar.

Zenger pleaded not guilty; and, at the next term, on the day of the trial, Andrew Hamilton, an eloquent lawyer of Philadelphia, who had been secretly engaged, appeared in court to speak in his defence. His friends anticipated that, according to the decision of English judges, all evidence offered to prove the truth of the publications would be rejected; and every citizen had, in various modes of public and private discussion, been made fully acquainted with the circumstances of the case. The evidence was offered and rejected; but the jury — after listening with delight to a bold and animated address from the eloquent advocate, in which he animadverted freely on the decision of the court, appealed to their own knowledge of the truth of the charges, and uttered, in fervid language, those cardinal principles of universal liberty and free discussion, which, though then heresies, are now acknowledged doctrines — gave a verdict of acquittal. Applause resounded through the hall. The court threatened to imprison the leader of the tumult; but from the same lips an applauding shout, longer and louder than before, again burst forth. Mr. Hamilton was conducted from the hall to a splendid entertainment. A salute of cannon was fired at his departure from the city; and the corporation presented him the freedom of the city, in a gold box, “for his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press.”

Governor Cosby died in 1736; and, as Van Dam was supposed to be senior councillor, his party exulted in the expectation that he would again preside over the colony; but a document was exhibited, bearing the signature of Cosby, and then first known to exist, dismissing him from the council. George Clark, the next in seniority, took the chair, and was soon after appointed lieutenant-governor. Again was re-

vived the contest which had ended, twenty years before, in the victory gained by Governor Hunter over the house of representatives. The colony being in debt, the house voted to raise the sum of six thousand pounds; but, in order to prevent its misapplication, declared that it should be applied to the payment of certain specified debts. Offended by this vote, Clark resorted to the expedient which had usually been adopted to punish or intimidate; he immediately dissolved the assembly.

At the next election, great exertions were made by the opposing parties. The popular party was triumphant. At their second session, the house voted an address to the lieutenant-governor, which is worthy of particular notice. In bold and explicit language, they state some of the vital principles of free government, refer to recent misapplications of money, and proceed —

“We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take it amiss when we tell you, that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise, for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and, by the grace of God, we shall endeavor not to deceive them.”

With a body of men so resolute in asserting their rights, the lieutenant-governor wisely forbore to contend. He thanked them for their address, and promised his cordial coöperation in all measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony. He gave his assent to a law providing for the more frequent election

of representatives ; which law, however, two years afterwards, was abrogated by the king.

But between a house of representatives and a chief magistrate deriving their authority from different sources, harmony could not long subsist. Mr. Clark, in his speech at the opening of the next session, declared that, unless the revenue was granted for as long a time as it had been granted by former assemblies, his duty to his majesty forbade him from assenting to any act for continuing the excise, or for paying the colonial bills of credit. The house unanimously resolved, that it would not pass any bill for the grant of money, unless assurance should be given that the excise should be continued and the bills of credit redeemed.

The lieutenant-governor immediately ordered the members to attend him. He told them that "their proceedings were presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented; that he could not look upon them without astonishment, nor with honor suffer the house to sit any longer;" and he accordingly dissolved it. Little more than a year had elapsed since the members were chosen; but in that time they had, by their firm and spirited conduct, in support of the rights of the people, merited the gratitude of their constituents.

About this time, a supposed "negro plot" occasioned great commotion and alarm in the city of New York. The frequent occurrence of fires, most of which were evidently caused by design, first excited the jealousy and suspicion of the citizens. Terrified by danger which lurked unseen in the midst of them, they listened with eager credulity to the declaration of some abandoned females, that the negroes had combined to burn the city and make one of their number governor. Many were arrested and committed to prison. Other witnesses, not more respectable than the first, came forward; other negroes were accused, and even several white men were designated as concerned in the plot.

When the time of trial arrived, so strong was the

prejudice against the miserable negroes, that every lawyer in the city volunteered against them. Ignorant and unassisted, nearly all who were tried were condemned. Fourteen were sentenced to be burned, eighteen to be hanged, seventy-one to be transported; and all these sentences were executed. Of the whites, two were convicted, and suffered death.

All apprehension of danger having subsided, many began to doubt whether any plot had, in fact, been concerted. None of the witnesses were persons of credit; their stories were extravagant, and often contradictory; and the project was such as none but fools or madmen would form. The two white men were respectable; one had received a liberal education, but he was a Catholic, and the prejudice against Catholics was too violent to permit the free exercise of reason. Some of the accused were doubtless guilty of setting fire to the city; but the proof of the alleged plot was not sufficiently clear to justify the numerous and cruel punishments that were inflicted.

In April, 1740, the assembly again met. It had now risen to importance in the colony. The adherence of the representatives to their determination, not to grant the revenue for more than one year, made annual meetings of the assembly necessary. This attachment to liberty was mistaken for the desire of independence. Lieutenant-Governor Clark, in a speech delivered in 1741, alludes to "a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, that the plantations were not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the crown."

In 1743, George Clinton was sent over as governor of the colony. He was an admiral in the navy, the younger son of an earl, had many noble relatives, needed the salary to replenish his purse, and knew little else than how to manage a ship. He was not, however, an unfavorable specimen of the men appointed by the English ministry to be plantation governors. Like most of his predecessors, he was welcomed with joy; and one of his earliest measures confirmed the

favorable accounts, which had preceded him, of his talents and liberality. To show his willingness to repose confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding assemblies. The house manifested its gratitude by adopting the measures he recommended for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England.

In 1745, the savages in alliance with France made frequent invasions of the English territories. The inhabitants were compelled to desert Hoosick; Saratoga was destroyed; the western settlements in New England were often attacked and plundered. Encouraged by success, the enemy became more daring, and small parties ventured within the suburbs of Albany, and there lay in wait for prisoners. It is even said that one Indian, called Tomonwilemon, often entered the city and succeeded in taking captives.

Distressed by these incursions, the assembly, in 1746, determined to unite with the other colonies and the mother country in an expedition against Canada. They appropriated money to purchase provisions for the army, and offered liberal bounties to recruits. Governor Clinton endeavored to persuade the Mohawks to take up arms against the French; but as he had quarrelled with Delancey, and dismissed Schuyler from being agent of Indian affairs, he found them less tractable than formerly. In the place of Schuyler, he had appointed William Johnson, a nephew of Commodore Warren. He had lately emigrated from England, purchased a tract of land in the midst of the Indians, adopted their dress and manners, and taken several princesses for wives. But success or failure of the efforts made in the colony became unimportant. The fleet from England did not arrive at the appointed time; the other colonies were dilatory in their preparations, and before they were completed, the season for military operations had passed away.

Early in the next year, a treaty was concluded, and the inhabitants were, for a short period, relieved from

the burdens and distresses of war. During the interval of peace, no event of importance happened in the colony. Upon the recurrence, a few years afterwards, of hostilities, its territory was the theatre of sanguinary conflicts. But of that war, in which all the colonies acted in concert, a connected history will be hereafter given.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW JERSEY.

HUDSON, in his voyage made in 1609, discovered and entered the Bay of Delaware, and sailed along the coast of New Jersey, before he entered the harbor of New York. The Dutch West India Company, in whose service he sailed, claimed, therefore, the territory of this state, as a part of the New Netherlands. Soon after New York was settled, some Dutch families seated themselves on the west shore of the Hudson, near that city. In 1623, Cornelius Jacobse Mey, whom the company sent out with a small number of people, landed at Cape May, and at the mouth of Timber Creek, a few miles below Philadelphia, on the eastern shore of the Delaware, erected a fort, which he called Nassau.

In 1630, Godyn and Bloemart, with the sanction of the company, purchased of the natives a tract of land at Cape May, but made no settlement. In 1634, Sir Edmund Ployden obtained from the king of England a grant of the country on the Delaware, which he called New Albion, and attempted, it is said, to plant a colony there. In 1638, a small number of Swedes and Finns came over, purchased land of the natives on both banks of the Delaware, but made their principal settlements on its western shore. In 1640, New Haven, then a separate colony, purchased land in the same region,

for purposes of trade, and "for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity." That they effected a settlement, has been asserted and denied. It is certain that, in 1643, their agent complained to the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England of molestations suffered from the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, and that, subsequently, a vessel, with adventurers on board, destined to the place purchased, was seized by Governor Kieft, at New York, and compelled to return. It is agreed, that, about this time, a settlement was made, at Elsingburgh, by the English; but whether by New Haven or by Sir Edmund Ployden is uncertain. The Swedes, in concert with the Dutch, drove them out of the country. The former built a fort at the place whence the English had been driven; and, gaining thus the command of the river, claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch who had lately assisted them.

They and the Dutch continued in possession of the country until 1655, when Peter Stuyvesant, governor of the New Netherlands, having obtained assistance from Holland, conquered all their posts, and transported most of the Swedes to Europe. But the Dutch did not long retain possession. In 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, the duke of York, all the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers, and sent, the same year, a squadron to wrest it from the Dutch. New York was first conquered, and then the settlements on the Delaware immediately submitted. Nichols, who commanded the expedition, and assumed the authority of governor, encouraged farmers from Long Island and New England to emigrate to the country south of the Hudson, by authorizing them to purchase land directly from the natives, and by confirming their title by a patent; and many seated themselves at Elizabethtown, Newark, Middleton, and Shrewsbury. But in the same year, and before the date of Nichols's patent, the duke conveyed the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord

Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. To this tract the name of New Jersey was given, in compliment to Sir George, who had been governor of the Island of Jersey, and had held it for King Charles in his contest with the parliament.

The two proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, securing equal privileges and liberty of conscience to all, and appointed Philip Carteret governor. He came over in 1665, fixed the seat of government at Elizabethtown, purchased land of the Indians, and sent agents into New England to invite settlers from that quarter. The terms offered were so favorable that many accepted the invitation. One of the inducements held out, was a bounty of seventy-five acres of land for every able-bodied slave introduced. But the emigrants were of a class accustomed and willing to labor; many of them came from a country where man-stealing was punishable by law; and but few took measures to entitle themselves to the bounty.

A few years afterwards, the repose of the colony was disturbed by domestic disputes. Those of the inhabitants who had purchased lands of the Indians, and received a confirmation of their title from Nichols, before the conveyance from the duke was known, refused to pay rent to the proprietors. Others were discontented from different causes. In 1672, the people assumed the government, and chose James Carteret, the son of Philip, their governor. The father returned to England, and obtained from the proprietors such concessions and promises as quieted the people, and induced them again to submit to his authority.

Lord Berkeley, in 1675, disposed of his property, rights, and privileges, to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge, both Quakers; and the former immediately sailed, with his family and a large company, to the Delaware, established himself at a place near Elsingburg, and called it Salem. Billinge, being involved in debt, consented that his property and rights should be sold for the benefit of his creditors; and William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, were appointed

trustees for that purpose. Being all Quakers, they resolved to secure, in New Jersey, an asylum for their persecuted brethren; and being desirous of possessing the sole power to institute a government, they and Sir George Carteret agreed to make partition of the territory. The western portion was assigned to them, the eastern to Carteret.

West Jersey was then divided into one hundred shares, which were separately sold. Some of the purchasers emigrated to the country, and all made great exertions to promote its population. Possessing the powers of government, as well as the right of soil, they formed a constitution, in which, for the encouragement of emigrants, they secured to them ample privileges. In 1677, a large number, principally Quakers, came from England, and seated themselves at Burlington, and its neighborhood.

But previous to the transfer from Berkeley to Billinge, the Dutch, being at war with England, reconquered the country, and retained it until 1674, when it was restored by treaty. A new patent was then granted to the duke, including the same territory as the former. In 1678, Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed his sole governor in America, claimed jurisdiction over the Jerseys, insisting that the conquest by the Dutch divested the proprietors of all their rights; that the reconquest again vested the title in the crown; and that the duke again acquired it entire by his second patent. He forcibly seized, transported to New York, and there imprisoned, those magistrates who refused to acknowledge his authority, and he imposed a duty upon all goods imported, and upon the property of all who came to settle in the country.

Of this injustice the inhabitants, especially those of West Jersey, loudly complained to the duke; and at length their repeated remonstrances constrained him to refer the matter to commissioners. Before them agents of the proprietors appeared. In strong language they asserted, and by strong arguments supported, their claim to the privileges of freemen. They

represented that the king had granted to the duke the right of government as well as the right of soil; that the duke had transferred the same rights to Berkeley and Carteret, and they to the present proprietors.

"That only," they added, "could have induced us to purchase lands and emigrate. And the reason is plain: to all prudent men, the government of any place is more inviting than the soil; for what is good land without good laws? What but an assurance that we should enjoy civil and religious privileges, could have tempted us to leave a cultivated country, and resort to a gloomy wilderness? What have we gained, if, after adventuring in this wilderness many thousands of pounds, we are yet to be taxed at the mere will and pleasure of another? What is it but to say, that people, free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in his plantations abroad?

"We humbly say, that we have lost none of our liberty by leaving our country; that the duty imposed upon us is without precedent or parallel; that, had we foreseen it, we should have preferred any other plantation in America. Besides, there is no limit to this power: since we are, by this precedent, taxed without any law, and thereby excluded from our English right of assenting to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to any true greatness."

The commissioners adjudged the duties illegal, and they were not afterwards demanded. Emigrants continued to arrive, and the country to prosper. In 1681, the governor of West Jersey summoned a general assembly, by which several fundamental laws were enacted, establishing the rights of the people, and defining the powers of rulers.

In 1682, the territory of East Jersey passed from Carteret to William Penn and twenty-three associates,

mostly of the Quaker persuasion. Robert Barclay, author of the "Apology for the Quakers," was appointed governor, and active measures were adopted to fill it with inhabitants. At this time, the Presbyterians of Scotland were persecuted by the Stuarts, with infuriated bigotry. Certainly the annals of our father-land contain no other pages from which the reader turns with such instinctive horror as from those which recount the remorseless cruelties of Claverhouse, Kirk, and Jeffries, of which ministers and people, men, women, and young maidens, were the heroic victims. To them an asylum was offered in East Jersey; and many, pure in heart and strong in faith, — for they had been tried by severer tests than even the Pilgrims of New England, — came over, and blessed the country with their piety, their industry, and their virtues. They found a more fertile soil, a more genial climate, and, what to them was dearer, the safe enjoyment of their faith. Dispersed among Puritans and Quakers, they could but feel contented; and with such a population the colony saw that it had an assurance of prosperity.

But the cup of happiness is never full. The multitude of proprietors, and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, occasioned vexatious confusion in titles to land, and harassing uncertainty as to the rights of government; and for twenty years all the evils which naturally flow from such bitter sources, continued to afflict the people. In 1702, the proprietors, weary of contending with each other, and with the people, surrendered the right of government to the crown. Queen Anne remitted the two divisions, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor over the colonies of New Jersey and New York.

For several years, these provinces continued to be ruled by the same governor, but each chose a separate assembly. In 1708, the inhabitants, by petition to the king, requested that they might have a separate governor. Their request was granted, and soon after Lewis Morris was appointed. In the same year, a

college was founded at Princeton, and called Nassau Hall. New Jersey then contained about forty thousand inhabitants. Being remote from Canada, the source of most of the Indian wars which afflicted the northern colonies, it enjoyed a complete exemption from that terrible calamity, and, until the commencement of the revolution, furnished no materials for history.

CHAPTER IX.

PENNSYLVANIA.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral in the British navy. Having, while a student at Oxford, violated the rules of the college, by attending the meetings of Quakers, he was at first fined, and afterwards expelled. His father chastised him, and banished him from his home; but, relenting, sent him to the continent to complete his education. He remained a short time at the college of Saumur, and, upon the appointment of his father to the command of a squadron, was recalled home to superintend the estates of the family. For a while, he studied law at Lincoln's Inn; mingled with London society, and acquired such skill in fencing, as to be able with ease to disarm any antagonist.

In 1666, being then in his twenty-second year, and on a journey in Ireland, he listened to the preaching of an eloquent Quaker, and imbibed all his enthusiasm. He joined the sect; was imprisoned as a nonconformist; returned to England, and was again turned out of doors by his father. He repaired to court with his hat on his head, claimed indulgence for the Friends, and was consigned to close imprisonment in the Tower. The duke of York, his father's friend, obtained his release; and the next year he was arraigned for having

spoken at a Quaker meeting. When put on trial, he addressed the jury and the court with so much eloquence and boldness, that the former, after a confinement of two days and two nights, disregarding the law, brought in a verdict of acquittal; and the latter fined the jury for returning a verdict against law, and fined and imprisoned Penn for contempt of court. He was discharged; again offended; and was again imprisoned. From Newgate he addressed the people in favor of liberty of conscience; and, when discharged, increased his exertions to propagate his doctrines, and to obtain for his brethren the protection of the laws. He travelled in Holland and Germany to distribute tracts and make converts; and on his return appeared before the house of commons to plead for universal liberty of conscience.

Being constituted a trustee of Billinge, one of the part owners of New Jersey, his attention was drawn to America; and he conceived the project of trying, on its shores, the "holy experiment" of commingling all Christian sects in one political community, all equally unrestrained and unprivileged by the laws. He applied to the king for the grant of a tract, which he had ascertained was not included in any previous patent. The nation was indebted to his father for his services; and he, on his death-bed, had asked and received from the duke of York, the brother of the king, a promise to protect and befriend his son. The want of personal favor at court being thus supplied, he obtained, in 1681, the grant he solicited; and the king insisted on calling the province Pennsylvania.

The charter contained some provisions not found in those previously granted. The king reserved the power, should not the laws of trade and navigation be observed, to seize the government, and retain it until compensation should be made; and to the parliament was reserved the power of imposing taxes on the people. Experience had shown the government that such powers were essential to accomplish the objects they aimed at. Unlimited freedom of conscience to all

Christian sects, and the right to be governed by laws enacted by themselves, were secured to the people.

Desirous of selling his lands and founding a colony, he, in a public advertisement, described the country, and set forth the advantages which it offered to emigrants. Many persons, chiefly Quakers, but natives of England, Wales, Ireland, and Germany, were induced to purchase. His first terms, which were afterwards raised, were forty shillings for every hundred acres, subject to a quitrent of one penny per acre forever. Before the emigrants embarked, certain "conditions and concessions" were by them and the proprietor agreed on and subscribed.

In the fall, three ships, carrying settlers, sailed for Pennsylvania. The pious and philanthropic proprietor sent by William Markham, his relation, a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace; and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." In compliance with his instructions, Markham purchased of the Indians as much land as the circumstances of the colony required. The position selected for a settlement was above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill. The Welsh seated themselves on the present sites of Merriion, Haverford, and Radnor; the Germans laid the foundation of Germantown.

In April, 1682, Penn published a *Frame of Government*, the chief object of which was declared to be "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." He published also a *Body of Laws*, which had been examined and approved by the emigrants in England; and which, says an eminent historian, "does great

honor to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, and to their spirit as colonists." From the duke of York, he obtained the relinquishment of a tract of land lying on the south side of the Delaware, and now constituting the state of that name, a part of which was already settled, and, in August, accompanied by about one hundred emigrants, set sail for America.

He landed first at New Castle, which was a part of the "Territories," as the land conveyed to him by the duke was called. Upon this tract he found about three thousand Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. He proceeded to Chester, where he called an assembly on the fourth of December. This assembly annexed the Territories to the province, adopted the Frame of Government, and enacted in form the Body of Laws. Penn also held a conference with the Indians, at which speeches were delivered, and the purchase made by Markham was confirmed. This conference was held at Kensington, under a large elm, which was afterwards regarded with veneration. The Indians, according to their custom, gave him a name, which was Onas, and by that name the governors of Pennsylvania were afterwards called; but he was always, in all conferences with his successors, referred to by them as the great and good Onas. He then selected the site, and marked out the plan, of an extensive city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, or the city of love. Before the end of the year, it contained eighty houses and cottages, some of which were brought from England.

The settlement of none of the colonies commenced under such favorable auspices as that of Pennsylvania. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The Indians, having been already taught to fear the power of the whites, were the more easily conciliated by their kindness. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and the game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the more northern and southern provinces. The increase of population exceeded, of course, all

former example. Crowds flocked to it from all quarters, and particularly from Germany and Holland.

The first frame of government or charter established a council of seventy-two members, one third to be chosen annually, and an assembly, to consist, at first of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never to exceed five hundred members. The proprietor was to be perpetual president of the council, and to have therein a treble vote. The council had the sole power of originating bills; and these were to be published before the meeting of the assembly, that the representatives might come together prepared to express thereupon the sentiments of their constituents. The people began to think that such a numerous assembly would be a burden to the province; the proprietor, fearing that his patent might be jeopardized by legislative doings, was desirous of possessing more power to control them. In 1683, a new charter was adopted, by which, and by a vote of the assembly, the number of the council was reduced to eighteen, and of the assembly to thirty-six members; and to the proprietor was given a controlling vote in the council, so that no law could be proposed without his assent.

Some of the regulations proposed by Penn, and adopted, bear the impress of his singular genius and benevolent disposition. It was ordained "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peacemakers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man; that children should be taught some useful trade, to the end that none might be idle, that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they should become poor, might not want; that factors, wronging their employers, should make satisfaction and one third over; that every thing which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, should be discouraged and severely punished; that no one, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry what-

ever; that all estates might be devised by will, and, if no will was made, they should descend equally to all the children.

These judicious regulations attracted numerous emigrants; and to their salutary influence must be attributed the qualities of diligence, order, and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians are so justly celebrated. Within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia two thousand inhabitants.

In 1684, the proprietor returned to England. He left the province in profound tranquillity, committing the executive authority to the council,—of which Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker from Wales, was made president,—and afterwards to five selected members of the council. The unfortunate James the Second soon after ascended the throne. “As he has,” said Penn, “been my friend, and my father’s friend, I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him.” He adhered to him while seated on the throne; and for two years after he was expelled from his kingdom, the government of the province was administered in his name.

By this display of attachment to the exiled monarch, he incurred the displeasure of King William. On vague suspicion, and unfounded charges, he was four times imprisoned. The government of his colony was taken from him, and given to Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York. But, by the severest scrutiny, it was rendered apparent, that he had, in all his conduct, been actuated as much by the love of his country as by personal gratitude. He regained the good opinion of King William; and, being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, appointed William Markham to be his deputy-governor.

In 1699, he again visited Pennsylvania, and found the people discontented. They complained that his powers and their rights were not defined with sufficient precision, and demanded a new charter. In 1701, he prepared and presented one to the assembly, which was accepted. It gave the whole power of

legislation to the governor and assembly, the governor being authorized to propose bills and to reject those passed by the assembly. It made no provision for the election, by the people, of members of the council, and scarcely recognized that body as a part of the government. To the assembly it gave the power to originate bills; to amend or reject those which might be laid before them; to adjourn at pleasure, and to meet at such times as it might appoint; and generally to do whatever might be done by the assemblies of other colonies in America. It authorized the people in each county to choose two persons for sheriff, and the justices to choose three persons for clerk of the peace, out of which the governor was to appoint one; and it made various other provisions, the intent of which was to secure the people from the abuse of power.

The inhabitants of the Territories had complained that, sending but few representatives to the assembly, their peculiar interests had been neglected. A supplemental article was therefore added, giving them the privilege of dissolving the union at any time within three years. They decided in favor of a dissolution, and were allowed a distinct assembly, but the same governor presided over both.

Immediately after this third charter was accepted, Penn appointed Andrew Hamilton deputy-governor, and a council consisting of ten members, and returned to England, being much better pleased with a residence in London than in Pennsylvania. From this time the history of the colony ceases to be interesting. No glorious, nor disastrous, nor striking event occurred. With an account of petty quarrels between the proprietor and the people — the landlord and his tenants — a volume might be filled; but it would only serve to prove the oft-asserted truths, that the long possession of power renders the best men less worthy to possess it; that a people, situated as these colonists were, are more disposed to make encroachments upon power than to submit to encroachments from it; and

that, if men may be restrained by principle from committing great wickedness, it is impossible to eradicate from the human heart the passion of envy and the love of gain. But if it cannot be said that either the proprietor or the people were perfect, it may with truth be said that in few colonies were the actions of the people subject to so little restraint, and in none was there so great prosperity.

The almost continual absence of the proprietor from his province, basking in the smiles of James and Anne, with both of whom he was a favorite, sundered the ties which once bound to him his people. Many had never seen him; and many, not being Quakers, were connected with him by no religious sympathy. They knew him only as the receiver of rents, and felt less grateful for the favors he bestowed, than dissatisfied at those he withheld. They believed him to be rich, and the quitrents which they owed him, though trifling and just, were grudgingly paid. He was, in fact, suffering from poverty. He had expended upon his province more than he had received; he had expended much at court, and more in his exertions to sustain and protect his persecuted brethren; and he was compelled to require of his tenants all that he could legally claim. In 1708, he was imprisoned for debt, and could obtain his discharge only by mortgaging Pennsylvania. In 1712, he entered into a negotiation with the crown for transferring to it the government of his province; and finally agreed to accept for it twelve thousand pounds; but before the legal forms were completed, he was reduced, by an apoplectic stroke, to the imbecility of infancy. In this state he lingered until 1718, when he died. His widow, as executrix of his will, assumed the management of the province, and retained it until 1732, when it passed into the hands of his sons, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn. At this time, an anonymous author estimates the population at thirty thousand, but it was probably greater.

Under deputy-governors appointed by these young

men, the colony continued to prosper, and the people to murmur; but their discontents never rose to the dignity of rebellion. They had more causes of dissatisfaction than before; but these causes were trifling, for they knew not what oppression was. The wars carried on by the neighboring colonies against the French and Indians, and the measures of protection adopted against apprehended incursions of the Indians into her own borders, increased the expenses of the colony; the proprietors refused to pay any part of these expenses; and their deputy refused, as instructed by them, to assent to any act levying taxes which did not exempt their own lands from its operation. This unwise, and indeed unjust, claim of exemption occasioned greater disgust than injury, and imbittered all the enjoyments of the inhabitants.

Most of the colonies, and this among them, had, to defray their expenses or to furnish a currency, made frequent emissions of paper money. The English parliament enacted a law prohibiting further issues; but Pennsylvania was not included in the prohibition. In 1752, the assembly passed a bill authorizing the emission of forty thousand dollars; but the governor withheld his assent, from the fear, as he alleged, of offending the parliament, which had so lately disapproved of this species of currency. His objections were referred to a committee, of which Benjamin Franklin was chairman. In their report, the committee took a comprehensive view of the effect of a paper currency. They demonstrated that, by its aid, the commerce, population, and internal improvements of the province had greatly increased. They stated that, in 1723, when the first emission was made, the number of vessels cleared from Pennsylvania was but eighty-five; in 1751, it was four hundred and three:—that the imports from England, in 1723, amounted to but sixteen thousand pounds; in 1751, they amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine thousand:—that the exports had trebled, being, in 1751, one hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds:—that the price of labor

had been raised, agricultural improvements had been rapidly made, and, in twenty years, the population had doubled.

The governor persisted in withholding his assent; and several bills, of the same purport, subsequently passed by the assembly, were also negatived. Franklin continued to be the champion of paper money; and it is remarkable that, during this period of our history, that species of currency was often demanded by the poor, and opposed by the rich. In a new country, deficient in capital, and with resources which may be rapidly developed, paper may be well employed as a substitute for specie; but the enormous issues made during the revolutionary war demonstrated very clearly that the unlimited power to issue is liable to great abuse.

It will be seen hereafter that the people of Pennsylvania took an active part in the revolutionary contest. In the early part of the war, they adopted a new constitution, by which the proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted, five hundred and seventy thousand dollars in discharge of all quitrents due from the inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

DELAWARE.

It has already been stated that Hudson, sailing in the service of the Dutch West India Company, discovered the River Delaware. In 1629, one Godyn, a director of that company, purchased of the natives a tract of land near the mouth of that river, on its western bank. The next year, he, in connection with others, sent De Vries, with about thirty persons, to make a settlement, and they seated themselves near

Lewistown. In 1632, De Vries returned to Holland, and, soon after his departure, a quarrel arose between the emigrants and the natives, in which every emigrant was killed.

Gustavus Adolphus, the best and greatest of Swedish kings, partaking of the spirit which actuated his brother sovereigns, resolved to plant a colony in America, for the benefit "of all oppressed Christendom." A commercial company, to whom was granted the right to plant colonies, was incorporated; the king invested four hundred thousand dollars, and reserved to the crown the right of government. Colonists were invited from all Europe, and the introduction of slaves, if not forbidden, was discouraged. "Slaves," it was said, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage: surely we shall gain more by a free people, with wives and children."

After the death of Gustavus, at the battle of Lutzen, Oxenstiern, the celebrated Swedish minister, then administering the government for the young queen, Christina, in a special appeal to Germany in favor of the enterprise, announced himself to be but the executor of the wishes of his late sovereign, and declared that the accomplishment of the design "would be favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." Minuits, who had been the Dutch governor of Manhattan, was selected to conduct the first expedition. In 1638, with a small number of Swedes and Finns, he arrived in Delaware Bay. They landed, early in the season, at Cape Henlopen; and so delighted were these emigrants from the cold regions of the north with the country and the climate, that they named it Paradise Point. They purchased of the natives the soil from the cape to the falls near Trenton, and erected a fort at the mouth of Christiana Creek, not far from Wilmington. The country they called New Sweden, and the river New Swedeland Stream.

Kieft, the governor of the New Netherlands, protested against this encroachment upon the territory of his sovereigns, the Dutch West India Company, but

dared not then molest them. Such were the tidings borne back to the north, that many of the peasants of Sweden and Finland eagerly hastened to this beautiful and fertile garden of the New World. The Dutch, who had deserted, reoccupied their fort at Nassau, in New Jersey; and Printz, the Swedish governor, erected one, of huge hemlock logs, on the island of Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia, where he established his head-quarters. A few Englishmen seated themselves below, on both sides of the river; but they were not made welcome by the Swedes or the Dutch, and were soon driven away.

The Swedish colony increased in numbers. The Dutch, still claiming the country, built Fort Casimir, at Newcastle, five miles from Christiana. Printz, in his turn, protested; and Risingh, his successor, in 1654, going with thirty men on pretence of making a friendly visit to the commander, took possession of it while enjoying his hospitality. This dishonorable action did not remain long unavenged. Stuyvesant, the governor of the New Netherlands, returned, the next year, the visit of Risingh. He came with no friendly pretence, but with an armament furnished in part by the city of Amsterdam, which had purchased the territory on the Delaware. He first reduced the fort at Newcastle, then that at Christiana Creek, and subsequently the others. Some of the Swedes were sent to Europe; the rest, on taking the oath of allegiance to Holland, were permitted to remain. Many of their descendants yet continue in Delaware, living memorials of the transient connection with the territory of the United States of the virtuous Oxenstiern and the brave Gustavus.

The settlements on the Delaware continued under the control of the Dutch until the New Netherlands were conquered by the English, in 1664. The duke of York then came into possession of all the Dutch had occupied. The English laws were established on both sides of the river; Newcastle was incorporated; and merchants were relieved from the duty of enter-

ing their goods at New York, as before they were obliged to do. Afterwards Dutch privateers, ascending the Delaware, committed depredations on the inhabitants; and they were authorized, to collect, as a recompense, a duty on imports at the Hoarkills.

Lord Baltimore had always claimed the country on the west side of the river as a part of his grant, which extended to the fortieth degree of north latitude, but excepted tracts already occupied. Incursions had been made from Maryland with the view of driving away the settlers; and once possession was taken, and for some time kept, of the post at the Hoarkills. At length William Penn, having obtained a grant of Pennsylvania, and being desirous of owning the land on the west bank of the Delaware, from his province to the sea, procured from the duke a release of all his title and claim, in one deed, to Newcastle and the land twelve miles round it, and, in another, to the land between this tract and the sea. In October, 1682, he arrived at Newcastle, and, in the presence of a crowd of Dutch, Swedes, and English, produced and read his deeds. The agent of the duke surrendered to him the territory: he addressed the multitude, promising them liberty of conscience and civil freedom; and then ascended the Delaware to take possession of his province of Pennsylvania.

Lord Baltimore still asserted his claim; but Penn resisted it on the ground that, at the time of the grant of Maryland, the territory was occupied. In 1685, the lords of trade and plantations decided that the claim of Baltimore was unfounded; and though the duke of York had no title but that derived from occupancy, his grant extending only to the east bank of the bay, yet no one else appeared to dispute the title of Penn; and the boundary between him and Baltimore was afterwards adjusted by compromise.

The two tracts now constituting the state of Delaware, Penn called his Territories. They were divided into three counties, and for twenty years were governed as a part of Pennsylvania, each sending six

delegates to the general assembly. In 1703, these delegates, not being willing to act with an assembly which neglected their peculiar interests, obtained liberty to secede; and the Territories were ever afterwards allowed a distinct assembly. The proprietor, however, until the commencement of the revolution, retained all his rights, and the same governor uniformly presided over his province and the Territories.

Sheltered by the surrounding colonies, Delaware enjoyed an entire exemption from wars, except those in which, as a part of the British empire, she was obliged to participate. In the war with France, which terminated in 1763, she was second to none in active zeal to assist the parent state. In the revolutionary war, the Delaware regiment was considered the most efficient in the Continental army.

CHAPTER XI.

MARYLAND.

GEORGE CALVERT, one of the secretaries of state under James I., had, from early life, shared in the general enthusiasm in favor of plantations in America. He was a Protestant in his youth; but, being convinced that the Catholic was the true faith, he avowed his conviction and resigned his office. The king, however, confiding in his integrity, retained him as a member of his privy council, and afterwards placed him in the list of Irish peers, with the title of Lord Baltimore. While secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent of the southern promontory of Newfoundland, and made repeated, but unsuccessful, efforts to plant a colony there. Having been a member of the South Virginia Company, he then visited that part of the continent, in the hope of finding a

retreat for his persecuted brethren. Upon his arrival, the assembly directed that the usual oath of allegiance, and another oath prescribed by an English statute acknowledging the king to be the only supreme governor, in all his dominions, as well in temporal as ecclesiastical matters, should be tendered to him. As the Catholics then believed the pope to be the supreme and only head of their church, Lord Baltimore refused to take these oaths.

Not being received in Virginia with the welcome he expected, he returned to England, and solicited from Charles I. a grant to himself of the territory, then uninhabited, on both sides of Chesapeake Bay. Charles assented; a patent was prepared, doubtless according to the suggestions of Lord Baltimore; but he died before the king's signature was affixed. It was afterwards, in 1632, issued to Cecil, his eldest son, and heir of his estate and title.

For the liberal provisions of this charter, King Charles, as well as Lord Baltimore, deserves special commendation. It granted and secured to all Christian sects equal protection and equal privileges. In England, the Catholics were then odious, and the objects of bitter persecution; by this charter, the sovereign set apart a fertile and delightful territory to which they might retire and worship God according to the dictates of conscience. By placing, not tacitly but expressly, all sects upon a level, it displayed an advance in liberality for which he who gave and he who solicited and accepted it are entitled to the highest credit, and to the higher credit from its being the first charter which contained similar provisions. It secured, moreover, to the people the right to enact their own laws, by themselves or their representatives, subject only to the negative of the proprietor; and it conceded to the inhabitants the inestimable favor of perpetual exemption from all English taxes. To the colony the name of Maryland was given, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Catholic wife of Charles.

The territory being within the limits of Virginia, as

described in her charter, several inhabitants of that colony, who probably carried on trade with the Indians on the Chesapeake, remonstrated against the grant to Lord Baltimore. But the Virginia charter had been forfeited, and the king refused to rescind his grant. The proprietor appointed Leonard Calvert, his brother, governor, and despatched him, near the close of the year 1633, to America, accompanied by about two hundred emigrants, mostly Roman Catholics.

They arrived, in February, 1634, at the mouth of the River Potomac. At a conference with the Indians who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village, the site of which St. Mary's now occupies. By this measure, wise as well as just, the rightful proprietors of the soil were satisfied, convenient habitations and some cultivated land were obtained. Arriving at a favorable season, instead of searching for gold, they planted corn, and raised enough for their own consumption, and some to exchange for the fish of New England.

But Maryland, in William Clayborne, had its evil genius, as well as New England in Edward Randolph. He was a member of the council, and secretary of the colony of Virginia; and in 1631 obtained a license from the king to trade with the Indians in places where the exclusive right to trade with them had not been granted. Under this license, he had made a small settlement on the Island of Kent, and another near the mouth of the Susquehannah. He pretended to regard the grant to Lord Baltimore as an infringement of his rights; he had good reason to apprehend from it a diminution of his profits. Upon the first arrival of the emigrants, he attempted to alarm them by representing the natives as decidedly hostile. To the natives he represented the "new comers" as Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians; and these representations had the effect of rendering them suspicious and unfriendly.

Not content with this mode of annoying the emi-

grants, he directed Warren, one of his men, to seize any vessel he might meet with belonging to Lord Baltimore's party. In the spring of 1635, Warren attempted to seize two pinnaces, was resisted, himself and two men slain, and his own party killed one of the emigrants. For this murder, Clayborne, though not present, was indicted ; and, fleeing to Virginia, was demanded of the governor of that colony, who refused to deliver him up, but sent him to England that the case might be determined there.

Shortly after this event, the people assembled to exercise the legislative power conferred by the charter. Every freeman was probably present by himself or by proxy. No record of their doings has been preserved. It is known that they passed an act confiscating the property of Clayborne ; and subsequent documents show that they passed some acts which the proprietor negatived. Clayborne applied to the king for redress, but, after a full hearing, was dismissed without obtaining any order in his favor.

With the exception of the enmity of Clayborne, and the unfriendliness of the Indians produced by his intrigues, every thing conspired to render the colony prosperous. The emigrants wisely sought their support from agriculture rather than from mines and trade. The proprietor was generous with his means, and indefatigable in his efforts to insure success ; he offered the most favorable terms to emigrants ; the soil and climate were inviting ; from abroad Catholics came as to a secure asylum ; from the south Churchmen drove Puritans, from the north Puritans drove Churchmen, into her borders, where all were willingly received, protected, and cherished.

At first, all the freemen, attending in a body, by themselves or by proxy, passed such laws as the welfare of the colony required. The increase of population soon rendered it necessary to adopt a different mode of legislation. In 1639, an act was passed, constituting a "house of assembly," to be composed of such as should be chosen by the people, of such as

should be summoned or appointed by the proprietor, and of the governor and secretary. These were to sit together, and the laws which they should enact were to possess the same validity as though the proprietors and all the people had concurred in enacting them. In 1650, a second alteration was made. The legislative body was divided into two branches, the delegates chosen by the people constituting the lower house, and the persons summoned by the proprietors, the upper house.

When the civil war between the king and parliament began, Clayborne embraced the cause of the latter, returned to Maryland, and by his intrigues fomented, in 1645, a rebellion against its rulers, who were attached to the royal cause. Calvert, the governor, was compelled to fly to Virginia, and the insurgents assumed the powers of government. The next year, however, the revolt was suppressed and tranquillity restored.

Watching the progress of the contest in England, the proprietor, desirous probably of strengthening himself with the rising party by following examples of Puritan rigor, and fearful, perhaps, that the Catholics might lose their privileges, approved a law, which the assembly had passed, declaring that any one, who should blaspheme God or deny the Holy Trinity, should suffer death; and declaring also that no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be in any way molested for his religion, or in the free exercise thereof.

But when the parliament triumphed over the king, they appointed commissioners for "reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeake;" and among them was Clayborne. After much altercation with Stone, the lieutenant of Baltimore, they deprived him of his commission; but afterwards a compromise was effected, by which he, with three of his council, was allowed to exercise the executive power until instructions should arrive from England; and the commissioners repaired to Virginia. This

state of affairs continued two years, when Stone, upon the dissolution of the long parliament, which had appointed the commissioners, believing their authority extinguished, restored his old council, and, by a railing and foolish proclamation, declared that the colony, while governed as it had been, was in a state of rebellion. This irritated the Puritans, and recalled the commissioners from Virginia. They removed Stone, substituting ten persons, whom they authorized to administer the government. Party spirit was rife in the colony, the people dividing according to their religious sentiments.

The next assembly was composed principally of Puritans. They acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, and passed an act which in effect denied religious freedom to all believers in "Popery and Prelacy." Thus were the Catholics ungratefully disfranchised in a colony they had founded, and by men whom they had taken to their bosom. A portion of the people refused to obey the new government; Stone attempted to restore the authority of Lord Baltimore, but was taken prisoner and kept long in confinement. Distraction and disorder continued to prevail until the restoration, in 1660, when Lord Baltimore resumed all his rights, and appointed Philip Calvert governor.

At this time the colony contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. Under the mild and beneficent rule of the proprietor, the number rapidly increased. "Acts of compromise" favorable to the colonists were passed, by which the power of the proprietor to levy taxes was defined and restrained; the assembly granted a custom of two shillings a hogshead on all tobacco exported, of which one half was to be appropriated to the defence of the colony, and the other half to be retained by the proprietor.

In 1676, Cecil Lord Baltimore, the original proprietor, died. He had well earned the title of the father of the province. For more than forty years, he had directed its affairs as proprietor, and displayed, in all his conduct, a benevolent heart and enlightened un-

derstanding. Although he lived in an age of bigotry, he was liberal in his opinions; and for all his exertions to contribute to the happiness of his fellow-beings, he desired no reward but their gratitude. This reward he received. The records of the Maryland assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection of the people. He was succeeded, as proprietor, by his eldest son, Charles, who had, for several years, been governor of the colony, and displayed the same amiable qualities which had rendered his father respected and beloved.

But the relation of proprietor and people was not one which the inhabitants of the New World were disposed long to endure with complacency. Their pride, and the spirit of independence natural to men who had been bred in forests and among mountains, revolted at their dependent condition, and stifled all the promptings of justice and duty. Protestants were numerous in the colony; in the kingdom they had a decided preponderancy; and, wherever they were, they regarded Catholics with hatred and distrust. English prelates demanded that the Episcopal church should be established; and the ministry, yielding to the clamor which beset them on all sides, and not unwilling to derive advantage from the proprietor's weakness, issued, in 1681, an order that all offices in Maryland should be intrusted exclusively to Protestants. Thus were the Catholics, a second time, disfranchised in the colony they had founded.

But let us not judge too harshly the conduct of men who lived in times so different from our own. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the persecution of Protestants in France and Holland, had not yet faded from the recollections of men. It was well understood that Catholics viewed Protestants as guilty apostates from the true faith; and that they did not consider that they owed any allegiance, from which the pope could not release them, to Protestant sovereigns. The refusal of the first Lord Baltimore to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in Virginia, was

probably still remembered. Let us be grateful that Catholics as well as Protestants have rejected many of the errors, and forgotten the feelings, of a benighted age.

In the year 1689, the epoch of the revolution in England, the repose of Maryland was again disturbed. A rumor was artfully circulated, that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province. An armed association was immediately formed, for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to oppose by force this association, but, meeting with few supporters, were compelled to abdicate the government.

King William directed those who had assumed the supreme authority to exercise it in his name; and for twenty-seven years the crown retained the entire control of the province. In 1716, the proprietor was restored to his rights; and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them until the commencement of the revolution. The people then assumed the government, adopted a constitution, and refused to admit the claims of Lord Baltimore to jurisdiction or property.

CHAPTER XII.

NORTH CAROLINA.

IN 1630, Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath all the territory between the 30th and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant, no settlement was made. Between 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia fled beyond her limits, and, without license from any source, occupied that portion of North Caro-

lina north of Albemarle Sound. They found the winters mild and the soil fertile. As their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods, and multiplied fast, they were enabled, with little labor, to live in the enjoyment of abundance. Their number was annually augmented; they acknowledged no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature.

In 1661, another settlement was made, near the mouth of Clarendon River, by adventurers from Massachusetts. The land being sterile, and the Indians hostile, they, in 1663, abandoned it. Immediately afterwards, their place was supplied by emigrants from Barbadoes, who invested Sir John Yeomans with the authority of governor.

Sir Robert Heath having neglected to comply with the conditions of his patent, the king, in 1663, granted the same territory to the historian and prime minister, Lord Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle — who, when General Monk, took the lead in the restoration, — the earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, all eminent men, and to several associates, and invested them with ample powers of government over those who should inhabit it. They sent out an expedition to explore the country, and finding that the settlement at Albemarle was beyond their northern boundary, obtained another charter, which included it. To encourage emigration, they gave public assurances, that all who should remove to their territory should enjoy unrestricted religious liberty, and be governed by a free assembly. The settlers at Albemarle were, on certain conditions, allowed to retain their lands. A government over them was organized, at the head of which a Mr. Drummond was placed; and a legislative assembly met there in 1667. Of its doings nothing is known, except that it petitioned the proprietors that the settlers might hold their lands on more favorable conditions, which was granted.

The grantees were men eminent for their talents, exalted in station, and rendered self-confident by their

success in life: their pride was, perhaps, not unmixed with benevolence; and they sought to gratify both, and to render their fame immortal, by laying the foundation of a state which should surpass, in its realities, the fabled Oceana and Arcadia. Their vast, uninhabited wilderness afforded a fine opportunity for an experiment. They applied to John Locke, whose political writings were then much read and admired, to prepare, for their colony, a constitution of government.

It divided their territory into counties, each to contain 480,000 acres of land; it created two hereditary orders of nobility, landgraves and caciques, assigning one landgrave and two caciques to each county, and reserving for the proprietors one fifth, for the nobility one fifth, and for the people the remaining three fifths of the land within it. The office and powers of the proprietors were to be hereditary; they, with forty-two councillors, were to constitute a grand council, over which the eldest proprietor, to be called the palatine, was to preside; and this council was to exercise the sovereign power. The landgraves, the caciques, one deputy of each proprietor, and deputies to be chosen every two years by the people, were to constitute a parliament, or legislative body, all sitting together, and each member having one vote: this parliament could deliberate and act only on bills proposed by the grand council; and the proprietors might negative all laws. Various courts were established, and many minor regulations adopted.

This constitution was signed by the proprietors, in the beginning of the year 1670. However wise it might seem to English politicians, it was by no means adapted to the sentiments and habits of the people for whom it was prepared. It was not such a form of government as they had been led to expect; its aristocratic features displeased them, and the measures adopted to introduce and enforce it produced general discontent.

In 1670, William Sayle, under the direction of the

proprietors, made a settlement at Port Royal, within the limits of South Carolina. The next year, dissatisfied with this station, he removed his colony northward, to a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers, where he laid out a town, which, in honor of the king then reigning, he called Charleston. Dying soon after, Sir John Yeomans, who had for several years been governor at Clarendon, was appointed to succeed him. This new settlement attracted at first many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and at length entirely exhausted it. Being remote from Albemarle, the proprietors established a separate government over it; and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina.

The proprietors considered themselves the owners of the soil. They had expended large sums in the commencement of their undertaking, and naturally expected to receive remuneration, and eventually to increase their fortunes. The terms on which they sold their land, to those who paid in advance, were, for every thousand acres, twenty pounds, (about one hundred dollars,) and an annual quitrent of one shilling for every hundred acres; and to others an annual quitrent of one penny for every acre. They supplied the settlers with cattle and provisions upon credit, and to be paid for in the products of the country. When the time of payment arrived, the ability or the inclination was often wanting. Many of the settlers were not of a description to feel, in its full force, a legal or moral obligation. They had no schoolmaster, no clergyman, and no printing press, among them. If laws are an index of character, some knowledge of theirs may be gained from one in force before the constitution of Locke was adopted. It declared "that no subject should be sued within five years for any cause of action that may have arisen out of the county; and that no person should receive a power of attorney to collect any debt contracted out of the county." The officers appointed to collect rents and taxes were complained of, perhaps with reason, as oppressive; and so embittered became

the feelings of the people, that but little was wanting to impel them to open insurrection.

One Miller, who had become obnoxious to the people, was arrested on some charge of misconduct, and sent to Virginia to be tried by Sir William Berkeley, who was a proprietor. He was acquitted, went to England to seek redress, and was sent back with the appointment of deputy of one of the proprietors, and collector of the customs. It became his duty to enforce the acts of trade, absurdly unjust and unpopular in all the colonies, by one of which acts the commerce of each colony was confined to the mother country. An illicit traffic had, for some time, been carried on between the people of New England and of North Carolina, the former bringing "some necessities, many trifles, and a plentiful supply of ardent spirits," and exchanging them for tobacco, the staple of the colony. This traffic the proprietors and government had endeavored to suppress, not only because it was illegal, but because it impoverished the people; but they, on their part, encouraged it. Miller was a man of violent passions, had no disposition to indulge the people, performed his duty with rigor, and of course exasperated them.

About this time, one Culpepper, compelled to flee from South Carolina, appeared at Albemarle, joined the disaffected, and by noisy declamation increased the excitement. The New England traders joined the same party. In 1677, Captain Gillam arrived from the north with a cargo of such goods as had usually been brought. He was arrested, by order of the president, upon the charge of a breach of the revenue laws. The people, espousing his cause, assembled, seized and imprisoned the president and six members of the council, of whom Miller was one, and assumed the control of the colony. Culpepper, who had been the chief actor in the insurrection, discharged for a while the profitable duty of collector. Eastchurch, who had been appointed governor, arrived soon after, but the insurgents refused to receive him. He applied to

Virginia for assistance to quell the insurrection, but died before the troops could be raised. The insurgents, becoming alarmed, despatched Culpepper to England with a promise of submission, and a demand for the punishment of Miller. But Miller appeared there also, having, with his fellow-prisoners, escaped from confinement. Culpepper was indicted and tried for high treason, but was acquitted upon his plea that the disturbance could only be considered a riot.

The proprietors, not having the means either to punish or enforce obedience, gave to one of their number, Seth Sothel, who had purchased the share of Lord Clarendon, the appointment of governor, and sent him to receive the submission of the people and to restore harmony. No appointment could have been more unfortunate. He is represented as the most corrupt and rapacious of colonial governors. He plundered the innocent, and received bribes from felons. For six years, the inhabitants endured his injustice and oppression. They then seized him, with a view of sending him to England for trial. At his request, he was detained and tried by the assembly, who banished him from the colony.

His successor was Philip Ludwell, of Virginia; and to him succeeded John Archdale, who was a Quaker, and one of the proprietors. Both were popular governors: under their administration, the colony prospered, and the people were happy. In 1693, at the request of the Carolinians, the constitution of Locke was abrogated by the proprietors, and each colony was afterwards ruled by a governor, council, and house of representatives. This famous constitution left no trace behind it.

In 1707, a company of French Protestants arrived, and seated themselves on the River Trent, a branch of the Neuse. In 1710, a large number of Palatines, fleeing from religious persecution in Germany, sought refuge in the same part of the province. To each of these the proprietors granted one hundred acres of land. They lived happy, for a few years, in the en-

joyment of liberty of conscience, and in the prospect of competence and ease. But suddenly a terrible calamity fell upon them. The Tuscarora and Coree Indians, smarting under recent injuries, and dreading total extinction from the encroachment of these strangers, plotted, with characteristic secrecy, their entire destruction. Sending their families to one of their fortified towns, twelve hundred bowmen sallied forth, and, in the same night, attacked, in separate parties, the nearest settlements of the Palatines. Men, women, and children, were indiscriminately butchered. The savages, with the swiftness and ferocity of wolves, ran from village to village. Before them was the repose of innocence; behind, the sleep of death. A few, escaping, alarmed the settlements more remote, and hastened to South Carolina for assistance.

Governor Craven immediately despatched, to the aid of the sister colony, nearly a thousand men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell. After a fatiguing march through a hideous wilderness, they met the enemy, attacked, defeated, and pursued them to their fortified town, which was immediately besieged. In a few days, peace, at their solicitation, was concluded, and Colonel Barnwell returned to South Carolina.

The peace was short; and, upon the recommencement of hostilities, assistance was again solicited from the southern colony. Colonel James Moore, an active young officer, was immediately despatched, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians. He found the enemy in a fort near Cotechny River. After a siege, which continued more than a week, the fort was taken and eight hundred Indians made prisoners. The Tuscaroras, disheartened by this defeat, migrated, in 1713, to the north, and joined the celebrated confederacy denominated the Five Nations. The others sued for peace, and afterwards continued friendly.

Until 1729, the two Carolinas, though distinct for many purposes, remained under the superintendence and control of the same proprietors. Neither had been prosperous; and the interests of the governors and

governed being apparently adverse to each other, the latter became discontented and refractory. They complained to the king, who directed inquiry to be made in his courts. The controversy was closed by an agreement, between the government and seven of the eight proprietors, by which the latter conveyed to the crown all their rights of soil and jurisdiction, and transferred to it the quitrents then due, for about one hundred thousand dollars, a sum probably insufficient to remunerate them for their expenditures. The territory was then divided into two colonies, and each was afterwards governed by executive officers appointed by the king, and an assembly chosen by the people. Lord Carteret, the other proprietor, surrendered his right to jurisdiction, but retained his right of soil, and his descendants have never yet parted with it.

Soon after this event, the soil in the interior of North Carolina was found to be superior in fertility to that on the sea-coast. The settlements, consequently, advanced rapidly into the wilderness. From the northern colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, multitudes were allured to this region by the mildness of the climate, and by the facility of obtaining in abundance all the necessaries of life. At peace with the Indians, and fortunate in her governors, the colony continued to prosper until the commencement of the troubles which preceded the revolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THIS colony and that of North Carolina were, as has already been stated, included in the same charter. In January, 1670, William Sayle, who had been appointed governor by the proprietors, accompanied by

Joseph West, their commercial agent, set sail from England, conducting a small body of emigrants, destined to Carolina. They first landed at or near Beaufort; but, that place not being suitable for a settlement, they proceeded to Ashley River, where, on the first high land, they began to erect habitations. Soon after, a convention was held, by which five members of the grand council were elected, — the proprietors having appointed the same number, — and twenty delegates or deputies were chosen. Governor Sayle, the ten members of the grand council, and the twenty deputies, constituted the government. This was a compliance, as near as was then practicable, with the constitution of Mr. Locke, of which some account has been given in the history of North Carolina.

The next year, Sir John Yeomans arrived from Barbadoes, with a cargo of African slaves. It was then thought that none but negroes could endure to labor in that fervid climate; and the settlers, willing to subsist on the labor of others, did not care to inquire whether the necessity of planting a colony there was sufficient to justify holding their fellow-men in bondage. Others were afterwards introduced, and in a very few years the number of slaves considerably exceeded that of the free. Upon the death of Sayle, Yeomans was appointed governor.

Several circumstances contributed to promote the settlement of this colony. The conquest of New York induced many of the Dutch to resort to it. From England, Puritans came to avoid the profanity and licentiousness which disgraced the court of Charles the Second; and Cavaliers, to retrieve their fortunes, exhausted by the civil wars. The arbitrary measures of Louis XIV. drove many French Protestants into exile, some of whom crossed the Atlantic and settled in Carolina. Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious, and by their exemplary demeanor gained the good will of the proprietors.

The situation of Charleston being found inconvenient, the inhabitants, in 1680, removed to Oyster

Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper Rivers, where a new city was laid out, to which the name of the other was given. In the same year commenced a war with the Westoes, a powerful tribe of Indians, which threatened great injury to the colony. Peace, however, was soon restored. In 1690, Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors, having, for corrupt conduct, been driven from North Carolina, appeared suddenly at Charleston, and, aided by a powerful faction, assumed the reins of government. Two years afterwards, he was removed from office.

The proprietors, having observed the good conduct of the French Protestants, directed the governor to permit them to elect representatives — a privilege which they had not yet enjoyed. The English Episcopalians, from national antipathy and religious motives, opposed the concession with zeal. In their discussion of the subject, warmed by opposition, — for the whole people became excited and angry, — they insisted that, by the laws of England, the French Protestants were aliens; that they could not possess real estate in the colony; that their marriages, being solemnized by ministers not ordained by bishops, were void; and that their children could not inherit the property of their fathers. By this display of a spirit so illiberal, these strangers were alarmed and discouraged. They knew not for whom they labored. But, countenanced by the governor, they remained in the colony, and, for the present, withdrew their claim to the right of suffrage.

Yet the ferment did not subside on the removal of the cause which produced it. Such was the general turbulence and disorder, the people complaining of their rulers, and quarrelling among themselves, that, in 1695, John Archdale was sent over, as governor of both Carolinas, and invested with full power to redress all grievances. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate exiles too great to be encountered, with any hope of success, until softened by time and their amiable deportment.

These produced the effects which he anticipated. In a few years, the French Protestants were admitted, by the general assembly, to all the rights of citizens and freemen.

Although the proprietors, by the regulations which were in force before the constitution of Locke was adopted, and which were restored upon its abrogation, had stipulated, that liberty of conscience should be universally enjoyed, yet one of them, Lord Granville, a bigoted Churchman, and James Moore, the governor, resolved to effect, if possible, the establishment, in the colony, of the Episcopal religion. They knew that a majority of the people were dissenters, and that by art and intrigue only could their design be accomplished. The governor, who was avaricious and venal, became the tool of Granville. He interfered in the elections, and, by bribing the voters, succeeded in procuring a majority in the assembly who would be subservient to his wishes.

A law was passed excluding dissenters from a seat in the assembly; and a majority being thus secured, another law was subsequently passed establishing the Episcopal religion. Both were laid before the proprietors, without whose sanction they could not possess permanent validity. Archdale, who had returned to England, opposed their confirmation with ability and spirit. He insisted that good faith, policy, interest, even piety, concurred to dictate their rejection. But Lord Granville declared himself in favor of them, and they received confirmation.

The dissenters saw themselves deprived of those privileges for which they had abandoned their native country, and encountered the dangers and hardships of the ocean and a wilderness. Some prepared to leave the colony and settle in Pennsylvania. Others proposed that a remonstrance against the laws should be presented to the house of lords, and this measure was adopted. The lords, by vote, expressed their disapprobation of the law excluding dissenters from the assembly; the queen concurred in their censure; and

that law was afterwards repealed; but the Episcopal religion long remained the established religion of the colony, and all were compelled to contribute to support its ministers.

In 1702, war then existing between England and Spain, Governor Moore, thirsting for Spanish plunder, led an expedition against St. Augustine. It was badly planned, worse executed, and failed. Returning from defeat abroad, he met, at home, the reproaches of his people. To silence these, he marched, at the head of a body of troops, against the Appalachian Indians, who had become insolent and hostile. In this expedition he was successful, taking many prisoners, and laying their towns in ashes. By his victories over the savages, he retrieved his character; and, by selling the prisoners as slaves, obtained what he most coveted—considerable personal emolument.

In 1706, the Spaniards, from Florida, invaded Carolina. The governor, Nathaniel Johnson, having received intimation of their approach, erected fortifications, and made arrangements to obtain, on short warning, the assistance of the militia. When the enemy's fleet appeared before Charleston, the whole strength of the colony was summoned to defend it. A force so formidable insured its safety. After burning a few detached buildings, the enemy retired without inflicting other injury. One of their ships, having ninety men on board, was captured by the Carolinians.

In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out. All the tribes, from Florida to Cape Fear, had been long engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the whites. In the morning of the 15th of April, the first blow was struck. At Pocataligo, and the settlements around Port Royal, ninety persons were massacred. The inhabitants of the latter place escaped, by embarking precipitately on board a vessel, which was then in the harbor, and sailing directly to Charleston.

This massacre was perpetrated by the southern Indians. The northern, at the same time, attacked the

settlements near them. Many of the inhabitants were killed, and many fled to Charleston. At a plantation on Goose Creek, seventy whites and forty faithful negroes, being protected by a breastwork, determined to maintain their post. On the first attack, their courage failed, and they agreed to surrender. The instant they were in the power of the enemy, all were barbarously murdered.

Governor Craven, at the head of twelve hundred men, marched against the savages. He discovered in the wilderness several small parties, who fled before him. At Saltcatchers, he found them all assembled; and there an obstinate and bloody battle was fought. The whites were victorious, driving the enemy before them, and compelling them to leave the province. Most of them fled to Florida, where they were received in the most friendly manner by the Spaniards.

In this short war, four hundred whites were killed, property of great value destroyed, and a large debt contracted. The proprietors, though earnestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to pay any portion of the debt. The assembly determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms offered were so favorable, that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers. The proprietors, refusing to sanction the proceedings of the assembly, deprived these emigrants of their lands. Some, reduced to extreme poverty, perished from want; others resorted to the northern colonies. A strong barrier between the old settlements and the savages was thus removed, and the country again exposed to their incursions. The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters.

The corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of the former, the governor and council complained to the proprietors, and solicited his recall. Instead of removing him, they thanked him for his services, and removed those members of the coun-

cil who had been most active against him. The patience of the people was exhausted, and they waited only for a favorable opportunity to throw off their oppressive yoke. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves, by a solemn compact, to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the proprietors; and the assembly, which was then in session, requested the governor, by a respectful address, to consent to administer the government in the name of the king.

He refused, and, by proclamation, dissolved the assembly. The members immediately met as a convention, and elected Colonel James Moore their governor. He was a bold man, and exceedingly well qualified for a popular leader in a turbulent season. He accepted the appointment, and, assisted by the convention, and supported by the people, administered the affairs of the colony.

The conduct of the proprietors and people was brought before his majesty in council. After a full hearing, it was decided, that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the crown. Several years afterwards, seven of the proprietors sold to the king their claim to the soil and rents, and all assigned to him their right of jurisdiction. The government was subsequently administered by executive officers appointed by the crown, and by assemblies chosen by the people; and under their control the colony prospered.

In 1738 occurred an alarming insurrection of the negroes. A number of them assembled at Stono, surprised and killed two men who had charge of a warehouse, from which they took guns and ammunition. They then chose a captain, and, with drums beating and colors flying, marched south-westward. They burned every house on their way, killed all the whites they could find, and compelled other negroes to join them.

Governor Bull, who was returning to Charleston from the southward, accidentally met them, hastened out of their way, and spread an alarm. The news soon reached Wiltown, where, fortunately, a large congregation were attending divine service. The men having, according to a law of the province, brought their arms to the place of worship, marched instantly in quest of the negroes, who, by this time, had become formidable, and spread terror and desolation around them.

While, in an open field, they were carousing and dancing, with frantic exultation at their late success, they were suddenly attacked by the whites. Some were killed; the remainder fled. Most of the fugitives were taken and tried. They who had been compelled to join the conspirators, were pardoned; but all the leaders and first insurgents suffered death. About twenty whites were murdered.

From this period until the era of the revolution, no important event occurred in the colony. It was sometimes distressed by Indian wars; but the number of inhabitants and the means of subsistence and comfort were constantly increasing. Emigrants came principally from the northern colonies; but often large bodies of Protestants arrived from Europe: in one year, 1752, the number who came exceeded sixteen hundred.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGIA.

UPON the southern part of the territory included in the Carolina charter no settlement was made until several years after that charter was forfeited. In June, 1732, several benevolent gentlemen, in England, concerted a project for planting a colony in that unoc-

cupied region. Their principal object was to relieve, by transporting thither, the indigent subjects of Great Britain; but their plan of benevolence embraced also the persecuted Protestants of all nations.

To a project springing from motives so noble and disinterested, the people and the government extended their encouragement and patronage. A patent was granted by the king, conveying to twenty-one trustees the territory now constituting the state of GEORGIA, which was to be apportioned gratuitously among the settlers; and liberal donations were made by the charitable, to defray the expense of transporting them across the Atlantic, and of providing for their support the first season.

The concerns of the colony were managed by the trustees, who freely devoted much of their time to the undertaking. Among other regulations, they provided that the land should not be sold nor devised by the owners, but should descend to the male children only; they forbade the use of rum in the colony, and strictly prohibited the importation of negroes. But none of these regulations remained long in force.

In November, 1732, one hundred and thirteen emigrants embarked for Georgia, at the head of whom the trustees had placed James Oglethorpe, a zealous and active promoter of this scheme of benevolence. In January, they arrived at Charleston; and the Carolinians, sensible of the advantage of having a barrier between them and the Indians, gave the adventurers a cordial welcome. They supplied them with provisions and with boats to convey them to the place of their destination. Yamacraw Bluff, since called Savannah, was selected as the most eligible place for a settlement.

The next year, five or six hundred poor persons arrived, and to each a portion of the wilderness was assigned. But it was soon found that these emigrants, who were the refuse of cities, had been rendered poor by idleness, and irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more

hardy and enterprising was necessary. The trustees, therefore, offered to receive, also, such as had not, by persecution or poverty, been rendered objects of compassion, and to grant to all, who should settle in the colony, fifty acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than four hundred persons from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, arrived in the year 1735. The Germans settled at Ebenezer, the Scotch at New Inverness, now Darien.

In 1736, John Wesley, a celebrated Methodist, made a visit to Georgia, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and converting the Indians. He was then young and ardent: the people around him felt less ardor than himself, and his pious zeal soon brought him into collision with some of the principal settlers. He was accused of diverting the people from their labor to attend his religious meetings, and of exercising unwarranted ecclesiastical authority. Persecuted by his enemies, and finding he could render no further service to the cause of religion in the colony, he returned to England, and there, for many years, pursued a distinguished career of piety and usefulness.

Two years afterwards, George Whitefield, another and more celebrated Methodist, arrived in the colony. He had already made himself conspicuous in England by his numerous eccentricities, his ardent piety, his extraordinary eloquence, his zeal and activity in propagating his opinions. He came to Georgia for the benevolent purpose of establishing an orphan house, where poor children might be fed, clothed, and educated in the knowledge of Christianity. In prosecution of this purpose, he often crossed the Atlantic, and traversed Great Britain and America, soliciting aid from the pious and charitable. Wherever he went, he preached, with sincerity and fervor, his peculiar doctrines, making proselytes of most who heard him, and founding a sect which has since become numerous and respectable. His orphan house, during his life, did not flourish, and, after his death, was entirely abandoned.

In 1740, the trustees rendered an account of their administration. At that time, two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight emigrants had arrived in the colony. Of these, fifteen hundred and twenty-one were indigent Englishmen, or persecuted Protestants. The benefactions, from government and from individuals, had been nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed that, for every person transported and maintained by the trustees, more than three hundred dollars had been expended.

The hope which the trustees had cherished, that the colony, planted at such vast expense, would be prosperous, and the objects of their benevolence happy, was completely disappointed. Such was the character of the greater part of the settlers, and such the restrictions imposed, that the plantations languished, and continued to require the contributions of the charitable.

War having been declared against Spain, Mr. Oglethorpe was promoted to the rank of general in the British army, and, at the head of two thousand men, partly from Virginia and the Carolinas, undertook an expedition against Florida. He took two Spanish forts, and besieged St. Augustine; but, encountering an obstinate resistance, was compelled to return unsuccessful to Georgia.

Two years afterwards, the Spaniards, in retaliation, prepared to invade Georgia; and they intended, if successful there, to subjugate the Carolinas and Virginia. On receiving information of their approach, General Oglethorpe solicited assistance from South Carolina. But the inhabitants of that colony, entertaining a strong prejudice against him, in consequence of his late defeat, and terrified by the danger which threatened themselves, determined to provide only for their own safety.

Meanwhile General Oglethorpe made preparations for a vigorous defence. He assembled seven hundred men, exclusive of a body of Indians, fixed his headquarters at Frederica, on the Island of St. Simon, and, with

this small band, determined to encounter whatever force might be brought against him. It was his utmost hope that he might be able to resist the enemy until a reënforcement should arrive from Carolina, which he daily and anxiously expected.

On the last of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, and having on board more than three thousand men, came to anchor off St. Simon's bar. Notwithstanding all the resistance which General Oglethorpe could oppose, they sailed up the River Alatomaha, landed upon the island, and there erected fortifications.

General Oglethorpe, convinced that his small force, if divided, must be entirely inefficient, assembled the whole of it at Frederica. One portion he employed in strengthening his fortifications: the Highlanders and Indians, ranging night and day through the woods, often attacked the outposts of the enemy. The toil of the troops was incessant; and the long delay of the expected succors, so cruelly withheld by South Carolina, caused the most gloomy and depressing apprehensions.

Learning that the Spanish army occupied two distinct positions, Oglethorpe conceived the project of attacking one by surprise. He selected the bravest of his little army, and in the night marched, entirely unobserved, to within two miles of the camp which he intended to assail. Directing his troops to halt, he advanced, at the head of a small body, to reconnoitre the enemy. While thus employed, a French soldier of his party, firing his musket, deserted to the Spaniards. Discovery destroying all hope of success, the general immediately returned to Frederica. He was not only chagrined at this occurrence, but apprehended instant danger from the disclosure which the deserter would doubtless make of his weakness.

In this embarrassment, he devised an expedient which was attended with the most happy success. He wrote a letter to the deserter, instructing him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of

Frederica; to urge them to attack the place, and, if he could not succeed, to persuade them to remain three days longer on the island; for, within that time, according to late advices from Carolina, he should receive a reënforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war. He cautioned him against dropping any hint of the attack meditated, by Admiral Vernon, upon St. Augustine, and assured him that the reward for his services should be ample.

For a small bribe, a soldier who had been made prisoner in one of the numerous skirmishes, engaged to deliver this letter to the deserter, and was then set at liberty. As was foreseen, he carried it directly to the Spanish general, who immediately suspected the deserter to be a spy from the English camp, and ordered him to be put in irons. But although his suspicions were awakened, he was yet uncertain whether the whole might not be a stratagem of his antagonist.

While hesitating what to believe, three small vessels of war appeared off the coast. Supposing they brought the reënforcements alluded to in the letter to the deserter, he hesitated no longer, but determined to make a vigorous attack upon the English, before these reënforcements could arrive and be brought into action. General Oglethorpe, by mere accident, obtained information of their design. A small party was instantly placed in ambuscade; the Spaniards advanced near them, halted to rest, and laid aside their arms. A sudden and well-directed fire, killing many, threw the enemy into confusion. After a few more discharges, they fled to their fortifications, which they demolished, and, hastily embarking, made every possible effort to escape from the reënforcements that were supposed to be approaching.

Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger. General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but exalted his reputation. From the Carolinians, grateful for their preservation, and from the governors of most of the northern colonies, he received cordial congratulations upon his address and

good fortune. And so mortified were the Spaniards at the result of the expedition, that the commander, on his return, was arrested, tried, and cashiered for misconduct.

But the prosperity of the colony was retarded by these disturbances. For ten years longer, it remained under the management of the trustees, who, embarrassing it by too much regulation, discouraged the emigrants and checked its growth. At length, disappointed in their hopes, and wearied by complaints, they surrendered their charter to the crown; and, in 1754, a royal government was established over the colony.

New regulations being adopted, Georgia began to flourish. Among her governors, James Wright deserves honorable notice for his wisdom in discerning, and his zeal in pursuing, her true interests. The cultivation of rice and indigo was prosecuted with augmented industry, skill, and profit; and in every succeeding year, an increased amount of these staple commodities was exported to the mother country. The Florida Indians were sometimes troublesome, but were as often chastised, and compelled to sue for peace.

CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL TOPICS.

THE incidents which attended the first settlement of the original THIRTEEN COLONIES, and the most important events which occurred in each, until nearly a century and a half had elapsed after the landing of Smith at Jamestown, have been gathered and recorded. They have struggled through the perils which beset them in infancy; they have gained courage and self-confidence amid sanguinary conflicts and terrible suf-

ferings; have acquired wisdom from the teachings of varied and stern experience; have matured their civil institutions, and, in their struggles with maternal authority, have lost few of their privileges, and forgotten none that they have lost.

Two leading motives, the most powerful, doubtless, of all motives in their operation on men in masses, impelled the people of the Old World to pour themselves upon the New—the love of wealth and the desire of religious freedom. The former gave existence to the colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, New York, and New Hampshire; the latter to those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In their progress during infancy, both motives aided to swell the population of all; but probably more, in the whole, came over impelled by religious than by worldly motives. But few were induced to emigrate by the love of political, disconnected with religious, freedom. That passion had its growth, if not its birth, in the New World. To whatever rank the emigrants might have belonged at home, here they could not remain long together without perceiving the folly of hereditary distinctions, nor without discovering that all, who were equal in mind and muscle, were equally useful in their young communities. Insensibly freedom became to them like the air they breathed. They thought not of it until they felt the strange sensation of some foreign restraint upon their actions and pursuits.

The emigrants were of different classes as well as of different nations. New England was settled principally from Old England. In that country, the Norman and Saxon races were never completely amalgamated. In the Cavaliers the Norman, in the Puritans the Saxon, blood prevailed; and New England was settled by the Puritans. In those colonies again appeared the Anglo-Saxon complexion, tenures, and dialect, with less admixture than had existed elsewhere for centuries. Habits of serious, devout contemplation, and of profound thought; a slight prone-

ness to superstition ; a willingness to labor ; fortitude to endure ; and firmness, and even obstinacy, of purpose, — distinguished the settlers of that region, and perhaps also those of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

In the emigrants to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Maryland, the Anglo-Norman blood prevailed. The grantees of those colonies were principally high in rank, noble by title, and followers of the court. Thither flocked Cavaliers at all times, and especially when Puritanism bore sway at home ; they brought thither feudal tenures, and the law of primogeniture ; there they established the religion of the court, and there they found or introduced the same kind of society as that to which they had been accustomed at home ; they formed a landed aristocracy, could live without labor, command obsequious servants and slaves, enjoy the royal sport of hunting, and again act the parts of the Norman nobles under the early successors of William the Conqueror.

At this time Ireland had not begun to overflow upon America. Scotland sent some of her worthiest children, and every colony welcomed all who came. From Holland and Germany migrated families and associated companies, and the states of New York and Pennsylvania bear witness to their skill and success in agriculture, to their industry, economy, and thrift. The bigoted Louis, misnamed the Great, drove thousands of French Protestants into exile ; the best of them came to America ; their descendants have illustrated the annals of Carolina ; and Jay, Boudinot, and Bowdoin, have, by their services and munificence, well rewarded the northern colonies for the protection afforded to their ancestors.

For one trait of character, and that which is even now most conspicuous, all the emigrants must have been distinguished. The mere fact of their leaving the abodes of civilization and crossing the ocean to throw themselves into an untried state of existence, which they knew was beset with perils, proves that they were animated by the spirit of enterprise. The

blood did not move feebly in the veins of those who left the Old for the New World, whether they came to add to their wealth, to worship God in their own way, to prey upon their own species, to hunt in magnificent forests, or to seek romantic adventures where all was new, and wild, and wonderful. Of the timid, the idle, the lazy, and the sickly, none came to America; or, if they came, they soon disappeared from among her population. The fathers and mothers of our people were of strong muscles and stout hearts, and their immediate descendants were made hardier, bolder, and more active, by the labors and perils among which they were reared.

The Indians of course receded, the wild beasts fled, and the trees of the forests fell, before them. The virgin earth yielded its increase, even a hundred fold; lofty pines floated down the rivers and across the ocean to a market; the beaver parted with its beautiful fur; and the sea gave up its myriads of fish. The ports of Europe, of the West Indies, and of South America, witnessed the arrival of ships freighted with the commodities of the English colonies, — of which the Indian weed was most coveted abroad, — and the departure of ships carrying to them the manufactures of the Old World, or the tropical productions of the New.

England, prompted by commercial avarice, determined to cast her net over this growing commerce, and draw it all into her own ports. By several statutes, successively enacted, and frequently referred to in our colonial history as the Acts of Trade, the first of which was passed in the year 1660, all foreigners were prohibited from importing merchandise into the colonies; the exportation of certain "enumerated commodities," the produce of the colonies, was confined to countries belonging to the British crown; the exportation of commodities not enumerated was confined to the same countries or to ports south of Capo Finisterre; no commodity could be imported into the colonies except in English ships and from English

ports; and duties were required to be paid on commodities exported from one colony to another. The navigation act, passed in 1650, had prohibited foreign vessels from bringing any commodities to England except such as were the produce of the country to which the vessel belonged.

Therefore, though the Dutch might be willing, as they actually were, to carry commodities to and from the colonies for less freight than the English, yet they were not permitted to do it; and however high might be the price of the enumerated commodities, of which tobacco was one, in the markets of Europe, still the colonists could sell them only in England; and however low might be the price, in European markets, of such articles as the colonists were obliged to procure from abroad, for their own consumption, still they could purchase them only of English merchants. To consider and treat her colonies only as the means of enriching the mother country, was the policy of England, as well as of every other European nation.

These acts of trade were odious in all the colonies, but most so in New England; for more of her inhabitants were engaged in navigation, and they were indignant at being restrained from visiting those markets where they could sell at the highest and buy at the lowest prices. In most of the colonies they were considered violations of their charters; in Massachusetts, for a time, they were entirely disregarded; elsewhere they were often violated; and the perpetual conflicts between those who were commissioned to enforce them and those who chose to break them, sustained, as the latter were, by nearly the whole people, spread far and wide the seeds of disaffection, and caused the colonists to regard England rather as the partial oppressor than as the benignant parent.

About the year 1675, the English merchants and manufacturers complained to the king that the inhabitants of New England, disregarding these acts, freely traded to all parts of Europe. An act was immediately

passed requiring the governors of all the colonies to take an oath to cause them to be enforced; more custom-house officers were appointed; and his majesty's cruisers were instructed to seize and bring in offenders.

As the wealth and population of the colonies increased, their importance to the nation became more apparent, and the management of them more laborious and difficult. In 1696, a "Board of Trade and Plantations" was established, to which all correspondence with the colonies was committed; and it was specially directed to inquire, not how their prosperity could be promoted, but "how they might be rendered most beneficial to the kingdom." To attain this object, other laws, restricting their trade, were passed, and other articles were added to the list of enumerated commodities, which could be exported only to English markets.

New England carried on a profitable trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch islands in the West Indies, supplying them with fish, lumber, and grain, and receiving in exchange rum, sugar, and molasses. The planters in the British islands complained. Immediately England, with the view of compelling her continental to trade wholly with her insular colonies, laid a duty, so heavy as, if not evaded, to amount to a prohibition, on rum, sugar, and molasses, imported into the plantations from foreign colonies. This, in effect, deprived New England of a market for a portion of her fish, lumber, and grain.

In 1731, the Board of Trade and Plantations reported to parliament that, among the manufactures carried on in the colonies injurious to the interests of the parent country, were those of wool and flax, iron, paper, hats, and leather. Upon the petition of the London hatters, an act was passed prohibiting the exportation of hats from the colonies to foreign ports, and even from one colony to another; and, that not being satisfactory, it was made unlawful for any person in the colonies, who had not served an apprenticeship of seven years, to make hats, and for any hatter to have more than one

apprentice at a time, and for any negro to work at the business. The manufacturers of iron were also gratified with an act prohibiting the making of steel, and the erection or continuance of any slitting or rolling mill, or plating forge, in the colonies, declaring all such mills and forges to be nuisances, and making it the duty of the governors to abate them or forfeit five hundred pounds. These are given but as samples of the restraints imposed, by the mother country, upon colonial industry.

No accurate statement can be given of the amount or value of the trade of the colonies previous to the revolution. Much of it was carried on contrary to law, and of this the custom-house books give no account. Their commerce with Great Britain and Ireland was doubtless most valuable; then that with the West Indies; then that with the south of Europe; and next that with the Spanish colonies of South America. The latter was prohibited by Spanish as well as English laws, but, in proportion to its amount, was most profitable. The chief articles of export were tobacco, bread, flour, wheat, and corn; of these the value was greater than that of all the other articles; then followed (the order in which they are placed indicating their relative importance) fish, rice, lumber, indigo, furs, whale oil, iron, beef and pork, pot and pearl ashes, horses, deer skins, flax seed, New England rum, &c. &c. The total value of all articles exported, in 1750, could not have been less than ten millions of dollars.

The number of inhabitants can be given only from estimates made by contemporary writers, or by the several governors in their answers to queries transmitted to them by the lords of trade and plantations. An estimate for 1749 states the whole number, including slaves, at 1,046,000, thus apportioned to the several colonies:—

New Hampshire,.....	30,000
Massachusetts,.....	220,000
Rhode Island,.....	35,000

Connecticut,	100,000
New York,	100,000
Jerseys,	60,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware,	250,000
Maryland,	85,000
Virginia,	85,000
North Carolina,	45,000
South Carolina,	30,000
Georgia,	6,000

Thus these young communities, which, but a short time ago, were struggling into existence, have, like young pines planted in their chosen soil, become firmly rooted and sent forth vigorous shoots. The people have begun to feel their strength, to know their rights, and to perceive the utter selfishness of their hereditary rulers. The great tide of modern events has begun its perceptible flow. Henceforth it will move on, resistless, increasing in volume and force, receiving no new impulse, developing no new principle, and affording to the profound searcher after the causes of events, the philosophical historian, no opportunity to display his sagacity except in divining and declaring the laws which direct the course, sometimes straight forward and sometimes in mazes, of the individual objects which are borne on its surface, and float at its mercy.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRENCH WAR OF 1756-63.

THE settlements of the French in North America had sensibly impeded the growth and prosperity of the English colonies. That people more readily assimilated with the Indians; they felt less horror of their religious rites; they had too much worldly wis-

dom to neglect the means of conciliating their friendship, or of inflaming their animosity against their own hereditary rivals. Whenever the two nations were at war, the frontiers of the English colonies were sure to be cruelly afflicted by the incursions of the interior Indians; and those who suffered never doubted by whose instigations the cruelties were perpetrated.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1748, between England and France, was followed by peace between the colonists and the Indians. At this time, the English settlements had not advanced far into the wilderness, but extended along the coast from Newfoundland to Florida. At the north, the French had settlements at Cape Breton, Quebec, and Montreal; and they had forts or trading-houses at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain; at the outlet of Lake Ontario, on the Canada shore; at the Falls of Niagara; and at Michilimackinac. At the south, they had planted New Orleans, and had established ports and trading-houses at several places above, on the Mississippi; in 1680, they built Fort Crevecoeur, on the River Illinois; and at various other places in the western country, they had established posts and trading-houses. The whole number of their colonists in America was estimated at fifty-two thousand.

The River Mississippi was discovered by the French; at first, in 1673, near its source, by travellers from Quebec; afterwards, by La Salle, at its mouth. Upon this discovery they founded their claim to the fertile and delightful valley through which it runs, from its mouth to the sources of its tributary streams. As some of these approach near to the great lakes, they formed the project of connecting their northern and southern settlements by a chain of posts extending from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, and down that river and the Mississippi to New Orleans, thus placing a barrier to the extension of the English settlements beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

While they were intent upon this project, a company of Englishmen, some residing in London and

some in Virginia, having obtained from the king a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, established trading-houses on the banks of that river. The French, considering this an encroachment upon their territory, seized some of the traders and conveyed them to Canada. As the land had been granted as a part of Virginia, the company complained to the governor of that colony, who determined to send a messenger to the commander of the French forces in the disputed territory, and require him to withdraw his troops. For this mission he selected George Washington, who was then, though but twenty-one years of age, a major in the militia, and who afterwards became illustrious in the annals of his country.

This was in the year 1753. Washington began his journey from Williamsburgh on the 31st of October; on the 14th of November, he arrived at Wills's Creek, now Cumberland, which was then the frontier post of the English; and on the 22d of December, he arrived at the French head-quarters, on a fork of French Creek, in the north-west part of Pennsylvania, and delivered the governor's letter. He returned with the answer from the French commander, that he had taken possession of the country by order of the governor of Canada, to whom he should send the letter he had received, and whose future orders he should implicitly obey.

This reply not being satisfactory to the governor of Virginia, he directed preparations to be made to maintain, by force, the rights of the British crown. Troops, constituting a regiment, were raised, the command of whom, on the death of the colonel first appointed, devolved on Washington, who had been promoted to the office of lieutenant-colonel. At the head of about four hundred men, he advanced, early in 1754, into the territory in dispute. On his route, he met, attacked, and defeated, a French party, who approached him in a manner indicating hostile intentions. He proceeded towards Fort Du Quesne, then recently erected at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, on the spot now occupied by Pittsburgh.

From this fort, De Villier, at the head of nine hundred men, marched out to attack him.

Hearing of the approach of this party, Colonel Washington halted and hastily erected, at the Little Meadows, some imperfect works, which he called Fort Necessity, by which means he hoped to prolong his defence until the arrival of reënforcements. He was closely besieged by De Villier, but, making a resolute defence, was offered the most honorable terms of capitulation, which he accepted, and returned with his troops to Virginia.

In this year, delegates from seven of the colonies met at Albany, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, and securing their friendship. This business being finished, a confederation of the colonies was proposed, by the delegates from Massachusetts. A "Plan of Union," drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, who was present as a delegate from Pennsylvania, was, on the fourth day of July, agreed upon, to be submitted to the colonial legislatures and to parliament for their adoption.

This plan provided that delegates to a general council should be chosen, by the representatives of the people, in the colonial assemblies, none choosing more than seven nor less than two; and that a president-general should be appointed by the crown. The council was to possess the power to appoint officers, to declare war and make peace with the Indians, and to concert all measures for the common protection and safety. The president-general was to have a negative upon the proceedings of the delegates; and the king might abrogate all laws within three years after their enactment. The plan was rejected by parliament, because the delegates were to be chosen by the representatives of the people. It was rejected by the colonies, because it placed too much power in the hands of the king. In England, apprehensions were already entertained of the growing importance of the colonial assemblies. In America, the people began, perhaps unconsciously, to be actuated by the spirit of independence.

The conduct of the French, on the Ohio, convinced the cabinet of London that their claim to the country through which that river flows must be relinquished, or maintained by the sword. They did not hesitate which alternative to choose. Early in the spring of 1755, they despatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force, to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory. And preparations having been made by France to despatch a reënforcement to her armies in Canada, Admiral Boscawen was ordered to endeavor to intercept the French fleet before it should enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

In April, General Braddock met the governors of the several provinces, to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon — one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock; one against Forts Niagara and Frontinae, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be commanded by General Johnson. This last originated with Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops, raised in New England and New York.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forces in Nova Scotia. This province was settled by the French, but was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. Its boundaries not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the English, and had built forts for their defence. To gain possession of these was the object of the expedition.

About two thousand militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston, and, being joined on their passage by three hundred regulars, arrived, in April, at the place of destination. The forts were invested; the resistance made was trifling and ineffectual; and in a short time the English gained possession of the whole province, according to their own definition of its boundaries.

Within these boundaries lived about seven thousand

French inhabitants, mild and inoffensive people, but ignorant, bigoted, and devotedly attached to their country. At the time of the cession, they had been permitted to remain, upon taking an oath not to bear arms against the English. Some of them were found in arms when the country was now subdued, and others had, in various ways, aided their countrymen in their hostile operations against the English and the colonies. They were now called upon to take the oath of allegiance without any qualification. This they refused to do; and it was then determined, by the civil authorities of Nova Scotia and the English admirals on the station, to disperse them among the English colonies. This unpleasant duty was imposed upon Colonel Winslow, who endeavored, in performing it, to lessen, as much as possible, the wretchedness of their fate. "It is the hardest," said one who was put on shore at Boston, "that has happened since our Savior was upon earth." They were distributed among the several towns, and supported as paupers. Many of our respectable citizens may trace their pedigree to the Neutral French.

The preparations of General Braddock had proceeded slowly. It had been found extremely difficult to procure horses, wagons, and provisions. Impatient of delay, he determined to set out with twelve hundred men selected from the different corps, and proceed as rapidly as possible towards Fort Du Quesne. The residue of the army and the heavy baggage were left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was directed to follow as soon as the preparations were completed. Having learned that Washington, disgusted with an order which had been promulgated from England, that regular should take rank of provincial officers, of the same grade though holding older commissions, had sent in his resignation, Braddock tendered him the appointment of his aid, which he, desirous of studying the art of war under an experienced commander, gladly accepted.

This general had been educated in the English

army; and in the science of war, as then taught in Europe, he deserved and enjoyed the reputation of more than ordinary skill. Of this reputation he was vain, and disdained to consider that his skill was totally inapplicable to the mode of warfare practised in the forests of America. Before he left England, he was repeatedly admonished to beware of a surprise; and on his march through the wilderness, the provincial officers frequently entreated him to scour the surrounding thickets. But he held these officers and the enemy in too much contempt to listen to this salutary counsel.

On approaching Fort Du Quesne, Colonel Washington made a last attempt to induce him to change his order of march. He explained the Indian mode of warfare, represented his danger, and offered to take command of the provincials, and place himself in advance of the army. This offer was declined. The general proceeded, confident of the propriety of his conduct; the provincials followed, trembling for the consequences.

On the ninth of July, the army crossed the Monongahela, within a few miles of Du Quesne. Their route led through a defile, which they had nearly passed, when a tremendous yell and instantaneous discharge of fire-arms suddenly burst upon them from an invisible foe. The van was thrown into confusion. The general led the main body to its support. For a moment, order was restored, and a short cessation of the enemy's fire, occasioned by the death of their commander, seemed to indicate that all danger was over.

But the attack was soon renewed with increased fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire. Officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion. The general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat, but bent

his whole efforts to restore and maintain order. He persisted in these efforts, until five horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded.

The general at length fell, and the rout became universal. The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then sixty miles in the rear. To this body the same panic was communicated. Turning about, they fled with the rest; and although no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army continued retreating until it reached Fort Cumberland, one hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. There they remained but a short time. With the remnant of the army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, Colonel Dunbar, upon whom, on the death of Braddock, the command devolved, marched to Philadelphia, leaving the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia destitute of defence.

The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so much despised, displayed, during the battle, the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat. Had they been permitted to fight in their own way, they could easily have defeated the enemy. In this battle, sixty-four out of eighty-five officers were either killed or wounded, and at least one half of the privates.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, were both unsuccessful. General Shirley, who had been appointed to command that against Niagara, met with so many delays that he did not reach Oswego until late in August. While embarking there to proceed against Niagara, the autumnal rains began, his troops became discouraged, his Indian allies deserted him, and he was compelled to relinquish his design.

The forces destined to attack Crown Point, and the

requisite military stores, could not be collected at Albany until the last of August. Thence the army, under the command of General Johnson, proceeded to the south end of Lake George, on their way to the place of destination. There he learned, that the armament, fitted out in the ports of France, eluding the English squadron, had arrived at Quebec, and that Baron Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached Colonel Williams, with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy.

Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled in disorder to the camp. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within one hundred and fifty yards of the breastwork; and, had they made an immediate assault, would, probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted, to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. Their fire was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage.

Johnson was wounded in the beginning of the action; and General Lyman of Massachusetts assumed the command. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders or concert, leaped

over the intrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The baron was wounded and made prisoner. It is worthy of remark that General Johnson, in his official account of the repulse, did not mention the name of General Lyman. Colonel Williams, while at Albany, had made his will, by which he devised a large tract of land for the promotion of education, thus laying the foundation of Williams College.

The next day, Colonel Blanchard, who commanded at Fort Edward, despatched Captains Folsom and M'Ginnis, with two hundred men, to the assistance of General Johnson. On their way, they discovered between three and four hundred of the enemy seated round a pond, not far from the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, they determined to attack this body. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a short conflict, the enemy fled. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about two hundred men; the enemy, upwards of seven hundred.

General Johnson, though strongly importuned by the government of Massachusetts, refused to proceed upon his expedition, which was abandoned, and most of his troops returned to their respective colonies. Thus ended the campaign of 1755. It opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made; yet not one of the objects of the three great expeditions had been attained.

During the fall and winter, the southern colonies were ravaged, and the usual barbarities perpetrated upon the frontier inhabitants by the savages, who, on the defeat of Braddock, and the retreat of his army, saw nothing to restrain their fury. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, disputes existed between the governors and legislatures, which prevented all attention to the means of defence. Scarcely a post was maintained, or a soldier employed in their service.

The colonies, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew

and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New York, to concert a plan for the ensuing year. He proposed that expeditions should be carried on against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and that a body of troops should be sent, by the way of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere, to alarm the French for the safety of Quebec. This plan was unanimously adopted by the council.

Shirley, on the last of January, returned to Boston, to meet the assembly of Massachusetts, of which colony he was governor. He endeavored to persuade them to concur in the measures proposed; but, disgusted with the proceedings of the last campaign, and especially at General Johnson's neglecting to pursue his advantages, they were unwilling to engage in offensive operations, unless the command of their forces should be given to General Winslow, who had acquired popularity by his success in Nova Scotia. Their wishes were complied with, and their concurrence was then granted.

In April, news arrived from Great Britain, that the conduct of General Johnson, instead of being censured, was considered highly meritorious; that, as a reward for his success, the king had conferred upon him the title of baronet, and parliament a grant of five thousand pounds sterling; that his majesty disapproved of the conduct of Shirley, and had determined to remove him from command.

This information not being official, General Shirley continued his preparations with his usual activity and zeal. While engaged in collecting, at Albany, the troops from the different colonies, General Webb brought from England official information of his removal. On the 25th of June, General Abercrombie arrived, and took command of the army. It now consisted of about twelve thousand men, and was more numerous and better prepared for the field than any army that had ever been assembled in America.

Singular as it may appear, while this sanguinary war raged in America, the intercourse between the two nations in Europe not only continued uninterrupted, but seemed more than usually friendly. This unnatural state of things could not long continue. Great Britain declared war in May, and France in June.

The change of commanders delayed the operations of the English army. The French were active; and on the 12th of July, General Abercrombie received intelligence that they meditated an attack upon Oswego, a post of the utmost importance. General Webb was ordered to prepare to march with a regiment for the defence of that place. In the meantime, Lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief over all the British forces in the colonies, arrived in America.

Amidst the ceremonies which followed, the affairs of the war were forgotten. General Webb did not begin his march until the 12th of August. Before he had proceeded far, he learned that Oswego was actually besieged by a large army of French and Indians. Alarmed for his own safety, he proceeded no farther, but employed his troops in erecting fortifications for their defence.

General Montcalm, the commander of the French troops in Canada, began the siege of Oswego on the 12th of August. On the 14th, the English commander having been killed, terms of surrender were proposed by the garrison, and were agreed to. These terms were shamefully violated. Several of the British officers and soldiers were insulted, robbed, and massacred by the Indians. Most of the sick were scalped in the hospitals, and the French general delivered twenty of the garrison to the savages, that being the number they had lost during the siege. Those unhappy wretches were, doubtless, according to the Indian custom, tortured and burnt.

General Webb was permitted to retreat, unmolested, to Albany. Lord Loudon pretended it was now too

late in the season to attempt any thing further, though the troops under General Winslow were within a few days' march of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and were sufficient in number to justify an attack upon those places. He devoted the remainder of the season to making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year.

The western Indians, sustained and instigated by the French garrison at Du Quesne, made frequent incursions into Pennsylvania and Virginia, killing and capturing many, and driving the English from most of the frontier settlements. Soon after the defeat of Braddock, Virginia raised a regiment of troops, and appointed Washington colonel and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised in the colony. For more than two years he was constantly occupied in the laborious duty of protecting an extensive and exposed frontier, and, by his skillful dispositions and incessant activity, accomplished all that his inadequate means permitted. In his correspondence with the governor of Virginia and others, he pointed out Du Quesne as the source of all their afflictions, and repeatedly urged the necessity of an expedition against it.

This spring had opened with still more brilliant prospects than the last; and the season closed without the occurrence of a single event that was honorable to the British arms, or advantageous to the colonies. This want of success was justly attributed to the removal of the provincial officers, who were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, but whom the ministry, desirous of checking the growth of talents in the colonies, were unwilling to employ. Yet the several assemblies, though they saw themselves thus slighted, and their money annually squandered, made all the preparations that were required of them for the next campaign.

The reduction of Louisburgh was the object to which the ministry directed the attention of Lord Loudon. In the spring of 1757, he sailed from New York, with six

thousand men, and, at Halifax, met Admiral Holbourn, with transports containing an equal number of troops, and a naval force consisting of fifteen ships of the line. When about to proceed to their place of destination, intelligence arrived that the garrison at Louisburgh had received a large reënforcement, and expected and desired a visit from the English. Disheartened by this intelligence, the general and admiral abandoned the expedition.

While the English commanders were thus irresolute and idle, the French were enterprising and active. In March, General Montcalm made an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry, at the south end of Lake George, but was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of the garrison. He returned to Crown Point, leaving a party of troops at Ticonderoga. Against this post, near four hundred men were sent from the fort, under the command of Colonel Parker.

The colonel was deceived in his intelligence, decoyed into an ambuscade, and attacked with such fury, that but two officers and seventy privates escaped. Encouraged by this success, Montcalm determined to return and besiege Fort William Henry. For this purpose, he assembled an army consisting of regular troops, Canadians and Indians, and amounting to near ten thousand men.

Major Putnam, a brave and active partisan, obtained information of the purposes of Montcalm, which he communicated to General Webb, who, in the absence of Lord Loudon, commanded the British troops in that quarter. The general enjoined silence upon Putnam, and adopted no other measure, on receiving the intelligence, than sending Colonel Monro to take command of the fort. The day after this officer, ignorant of what was to happen, had arrived at his post, the lake appeared covered with boats, which swiftly approached the shore. Montcalm, with but little opposition, effected a landing, and immediately began the siege. The garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred

men, animated by the expectation of relief, made a gallant defence.

General Webb had an army at Fort Edward, of more than four thousand men; and it was in his power to call in a large number of provincial troops from New York and New England. To him Colonel Monro sent repeated and pressing solicitations for immediate succor. These he disregarded, seeming entirely indifferent to the distressing situation of his fellow-soldiers. At length, on the ninth day of the siege, in compliance with the entreaties of the friends of Monro, General Webb despatched Sir William Johnson, with a body of men, to his relief. They had not proceeded three miles, when the order was countermanded. Webb then wrote to Monro that he could afford him no assistance, and advised him to surrender on the best terms that he could obtain. This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who, in a conference which he procured, handed it himself to the commander of the fort. All hope of relief being extinguished, articles of capitulation were agreed to. In these it was expressly stipulated by Montcalm, that the prisoners should be protected from the savages by a guard, and that the sick and wounded should be treated with humanity.

But, the next morning, a great number of Indians, having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder. Meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded, whom they immediately massacred. This excited their appetite for carnage. The defenceless troops were surrounded and attacked with fiend-like fury. Monro, hastening to Montcalm, implored him to provide the stipulated guard.

His entreaties were ineffectual, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side, savages were butchering and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to

rage without restraint, until a large number were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness.

The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putnam was sent, with his rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was shocking and horrid. The fort was demolished. The barracks and buildings were yet burning. Innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiled in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping-knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around.

General Webb, apprehensive of an attack upon himself, sent expresses to the provinces for reinforcements. They were raised and despatched with expedition; but as Montcalm returned to Ticonderoga, they were kept in service but a few weeks. And thus ended the third campaign in America.

These continual disasters resulted from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, who rose, by the force of his talents alone, from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire. Public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigor.

For the next campaign, the ministry determined upon three expeditions — one of twelve thousand men, against Louisburgh; one of sixteen thousand, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and one of eight thousand, against Fort Du Quesne. The colonies were called upon to render all the assistance in their power. Lord Loudon having been recalled, the command of the expedition against Louisburgh was given to General Amherst, under whom General Wolfe served as a brigadier. The place was invested on the 12th of June. Amherst made his approaches with much cir-

cumspection; and, without any memorable incident, the siege terminated, on the 26th of July, by the surrender of the place. Whenever an opportunity occurred, General Wolfe, who was then young, displayed all that fire, impetuosity, and discretion, which afterwards immortalized his name.

The expedition against Ticonderoga was commanded by General Abercrombie. He was accompanied by Lord Howe, whose military talents and amiable virtues made him the darling of the soldiery. This army consisted of seven thousand regular troops and ten thousand provincials. When approaching the fort, a skirmish took place with a small party of the enemy, in which Lord Howe was killed at the first fire. On seeing him fall, the troops moved forward with an animated determination to avenge his death. Three hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and one hundred and forty made prisoners.

The ardor of his men, and the intelligence gained from the prisoners, induced General Abercrombie to make an assault upon the works. It was received with undaunted bravery, and was persevered in with singular obstinacy. For four hours, the troops remained before the walls, attempting to scale them, and exposed to a destructive fire of musketry and artillery. The general, despairing of success, then directed a retreat. Near two thousand of the assailants were killed or wounded. The loss of the French was not great, and most of the killed were shot through the head, the other parts of their bodies being protected by their works.

After this bloody repulse, Abercrombie despatched Colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men, mostly provincials, against Fort Frontenac, which was situated on Lake Ontario, and contained a large quantity of merchandise, provisions, and military stores. It fell an easy conquest, and the loss was severely felt by the French. The western Indians, not receiving their usual supply of merchandise, relaxed in their exertions; and the troops at Du Quesne suffered from the

want of the provisions and military stores. These circumstances contributed essentially to facilitate the operations of the third expedition.

This was placed under the command of General Forbes, who was accompanied by Colonel Washington, with his regiment of Virginia troops. He left Philadelphia in the beginning of July, and, after a laborious march, through deep morasses and over unexplored mountains, arrived at Raystown, ninety miles from Du Quesne. An advanced party of eight hundred men, under the command of Major Grant, was met by a detachment from the fort, and defeated, with great slaughter. Forbes, admonished by this disaster, advanced with cautious and steady perseverance. The enemy, observing his circumspection, determined not to abide the event of a siege. After dismantling the fort, they retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. General Forbes, taking possession of the place, changed its name to Pittsburgh.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honorable to the British arms. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed, than in the choice of men to execute his plans.

Encouraged by the events of this year, the English anticipated still greater success in the campaign which was to follow. The plan marked out by the minister was indicative of the boldness and energy of his genius. Three different armies were, at the same time, to be led against the three strongest posts of the French in America—Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec. The latter post was considered the strongest; and it was therefore intended that, should Ticonderoga be conquered, the victorious army should press forward to assist in its reduction.

In the beginning of July, General Prideaux embarked

on Lake Ontario, with the army destined against Niagara, and, on the 6th, landed about three miles from the fort. He immediately commenced a siege, in the progress of which he was killed, by the bursting of a shell. The command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. An army of French and Indians approaching soon after, he detached a part of his forces to meet them. A battle ensued; the English gained the victory, which was followed by the surrender of the fort.

General Amherst, to whom was assigned the expedition against Ticonderoga, found so many difficulties to surmount, that he was unable to present himself before that place until late in July. It was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The British general, after repairing the works, proceeded against Crown Point. On his approach, this was also deserted, the enemy retiring to the Isle aux Noix. To gain possession of this post, great efforts were made, and much time consumed; but a succession of storms on Lake Champlain prevented success. General Amherst was compelled to lead back his army to Crown Point, where he encamped for the winter.

The expedition against Quebec was the most daring and important. That place, strong by nature, had been made still stronger by art, and had received the appropriate appellation of the Gibraltar of America. Every expedition against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and an attempt to reduce it must have seemed chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged, rightly, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful. They arouse the energies of man, and elevate them to a level with the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory.

Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburgh had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition,

and gave him, for assistants, Brigadier-Generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season, he sailed from Halifax, with eight thousand troops, and, near the last of June, landed the whole army on the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it, far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the River St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. A short distance farther down is the River Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly intrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English.

General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the bank of the river opposite Quebec, and from that position cannonaded the town. Some injury was done to the houses; but his cannon were too distant to make any impression upon the works of the enemy. He resolved to quit this post, to land below Montmorency, and, passing that river, to attack the French general in his intrenchments.

He succeeded in landing his troops, and, with a portion of his army, crossed the Montmorency. A partial engagement took place, in which the French obtained the advantage. Relinquishing this plan, he then determined, in concert with the admiral, to destroy the French shipping and magazines. Two attempts were unsuccessful; a third was more fortunate; yet but little was effected. At this juncture, intelligence

arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle aux Noix.

Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, but could not avoid contrasting their success with his own ill fortune. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise.

Despairing of success below the town, he next directed his efforts towards effecting a landing above it. He removed a part of his army to Point Levi, and the remainder higher up the river. He now found that, on this quarter, the fortifications were not strong; and discovered that the heights behind them might possibly be gained, by ascending the precipice in a narrow path, which was defended only by a captain's guard.

The difficulties attending this enterprise were numerous. The current was rapid, the shore shelving, the only landing-place so narrow that it might easily be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as troops, even when unopposed, could not ascend without difficulty. Yet the plan, though bold and hazardous, was well adapted to the desperate situation of affairs, and was determined on.

To conceal their intention, the admiral retired several leagues up the river. During the evening, a strong detachment was put on board the boats, and moved silently down, with the tide, to the place of landing, where they arrived an hour before daybreak. Wolfe leaped on shore, was followed by the troops, and all instantly began, with the assistance of shrubs and projecting rocks, to climb up the precipice. The guard was dispersed, and, by the dawn of day, the

whole army gained the Heights of Abraham, where the different corps were formed under their respective leaders.

Montcalm, at first, could not believe that the English had ascended the heights. When convinced of the fact, he comprehended the full advantage they had gained. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he advanced towards the English army, which was formed in order of battle to receive him.

The French advanced briskly. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe was wounded in the wrist; but, preserving his composure, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and was leading them to the charge, when he received a third and mortal wound.

Undismayed by the fall of their general, the English continued their exertions under Moncton, who, in a short time, was himself wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. About the same time, Montcalm received a mortal wound, and the second in command also fell. The left wing and centre of the French gave way. Part were driven into Quebec, and part over the River St. Charles.

On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of, "They fly, they fly." "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death so glorious, and attended by cir-

circumstances so interesting, has seldom been recorded in history.

Five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison. The French concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, and, early in the spring, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they returned to Montreal, towards which the whole British force in America, under the command of General Amherst, was approaching. This force was too strong to be resisted. In September, 1760, that city surrendered, and soon after all the French posts in Canada fell into the power of the English.

In the other parts of the world, their arms were equally successful; and, in 1762, negotiations for peace were opened at Paris. In England, the question was freely discussed, whether it was expedient to retain Canada or restore it to France. In an anonymous pamphlet, the policy of restoring it was distinctly maintained, on the ground that it would, in the possession of France, serve as a check to the growth of the English colonies, which would otherwise "extend themselves, almost without bounds, into the inland parts, become a numerous, hardy, independent people, living wholly on their own labor, and, in process of time, knowing or inquiring little about the mother country." Benjamin Franklin, then in London as the agent of Pennsylvania, published a reply in which he forcibly represented the ingratitude and cruelty of leaving this "check" upon the back of the colonies, which had incurred expenses and made exertions unsurpassed in modern times to procure exemption from Indian massacre; and plainly intimated that, if deserted by England, they might seek that exemption by throwing themselves into the arms of France. If the English ministry ever entertained such intention, it was abandoned; the French displayed no repugnance to the cession; and in the beginning of 1763, a treaty was concluded by which France ceded to Eng-

land all her northern settlements in America. In this relief from all future dread of savage incursions, the colonies found a full compensation for all their losses and sufferings.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLUTION.

IN the late brilliant contest, England had made unprecedented exertions. At its close, she found that, though she had encircled her name with glory, and added extensive territories to her empire, she had increased, in proportion, the burdens of her subjects, having added three hundred and twenty millions of dollars to the amount of her debt. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of this debt, and her other increased expenditures, was the first and difficult task of her legislators.

Regard for their own interest and popularity impelled them to avoid, if possible, imposing the whole burden upon themselves and their fellow-subjects at home ; and their thoughts were turned to the colonies, as the source whence alleviation and assistance might be derived. On their account, it was alleged, the contest had been waged ; they would share the advantages of its glorious termination, and justice required that they should also defray a portion of the expenses.

To adopt this expedient, the British ministry were the more naturally led by the opinion which all the European governments entertained of the relation between the mother country and her colonies. They were supposed to be dependent on her will, their inhabitants a distinct and subordinate class of subjects, and their interests entirely subservient to her aggrandizement and prosperity.

Acting upon these principles, Great Britain had, by her laws of trade and navigation, confined the commerce of the colonies almost wholly to herself. To encourage her own artisans, she had even, in some cases, prohibited the establishment of manufactories in America. These restrictions, while they increased her revenues and wealth, greatly diminished the profits of the trade of the colonies, and sensibly impeded their internal prosperity. They were most injurious to New England, where the sterility of the soil repelled the people from the pursuits of agriculture; there they were most frequently violated, and there the arbitrary means adopted to enforce them awakened the attention of a proud and jealous people to their natural rights; to their rights as English subjects; and to the rights granted and secured by their charters.

Even before the treaty with France was signed, but not until after the conquest of Canada, the spirit of resistance to arbitrary vexations was manifested, in Boston, in a manner which ought to have been received as a warning by the ministry. It had been usual, for the officers of the customs, when they suspected contraband goods were concealed in warehouses or dwelling-houses, to enter and search for them, by the authority merely of their commissions. This authority was doubted; some merchants resisted, and some brought suits against the officers for illegal entries. The governor was then applied to, and, as the chief civil magistrate, sometimes granted search-warrants; but his authority being questioned, he desisted, and referred the officers to the superior court. This court, supposing it had all the powers exercised by the superior courts in England, then, upon special application, issued writs of assistance, similar to writs of that name which the court of exchequer was authorized by statute to issue, and granting the same power as search-warrants.

But the validity of these writs was also doubted. In 1761, such a writ being applied for, objection was

made; and the court, at the request of James Otis, appointed a day to hear an argument upon the power of the court to grant it. The merchants of Boston and Salem, considering the question important to their interests, employed Mr. Otis and Oxenbridge Thatcher to argue against the power of the court. The latter was not only eminent as a lawyer, but distinguished for his love of science and literature, devoted to his country, and fearless in expressing his detestation of the avarice and ambition of the men in power, and his apprehension of their designs against the liberties of the people. Mr. Otis was a younger man, of ardent passions, lofty spirit, and generous disposition; he held the office of advocate-general in the court of admiralty, and, as such, was requested, by the custom-house officers, to sustain their application; but this he refused, and immediately resigned his office.

The nature of the question drew to the court-house, on the day appointed, an immense concourse of people. The attorney-general spoke first in favor of the application; Mr. Thatcher replied, and Mr. Otis followed. His address is represented to have been one of surpassing eloquence. He spoke of the inherent rights of man, of the rights secured to Englishmen by Magna Charta, and to the emigrants by the colonial charters. He expatiated upon the navigation act and the acts of trade; showed that they originated in selfishness, that they violated the rights of the colonists, and that to enforce them was, and must be, tyranny and unmitigated oppression. He declaimed against writs of assistance, likened them to general warrants, referred to instances in which they had been used to gratify personal malice, and contended that they were contrary to the common law, and unauthorized by any statute of England or Massachusetts.

He spoke between four and five hours, "and in a style of oratory," says John Adams, who was present, "that I never heard equalled in this or in any other country. Every man of a crowded audience appeared

to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. The seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain." — The court declined to issue the writ.

Among the acts of trade was one, passed at the solicitation of the planters in the British islands in the West Indies, imposing a heavy duty on rum, sugar, and molasses, when imported into the colonies from the French islands. This act, if rigidly enforced, would have destroyed a profitable trade with those islands, which received, in exchange for those articles, the fish and lumber of New England. The custom-house officers, convinced of the injustice of the duty, had forbore to exact the whole of it, receiving, without strict inquiry, whatever was willingly offered. In 1763, special instructions were sent to America that this act must be rigidly enforced. "The publication of these instructions," says Minot, "occasioned an alarm in the northern colonies greater than that occasioned by the capture of Fort William Henry, in 1757."

The act before mentioned, being, when passed, limited in its duration, would expire in 1764; and the preamble declared that the object of it was to afford relief to the British West India islands. It was therefore considered an act, not to raise a revenue, but to regulate trade, and as such, though oppressive, within the power of parliament to pass. In the beginning of that year, the act was remodelled; the preamble was made to declare that "it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised in America;" a duty was laid on coffee, silk, calico, and some other commodities when imported into the colonies; and in this shape it was made perpetual. Mr. Grenville, the prime minister, also proposed a resolution, "that it would be proper to charge certain stamp duties on the colonies," but postponed the consideration of that subject to a future session. As it was foreseen that

the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it, provision was made that all penalties for violations of it, and of all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them, without the intervention of a jury.

Intelligence of these proceedings occasioned, in America, great and universal alarm. They were considered the commencement of a system of taxation, which, if not vigorously resisted, would, in time, be extended to every article of commerce, and to every internal source of income; and if the colonists could be deprived in one class of causes, why not in all, of that inestimable privilege, the trial by jury?

The general court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of representatives sent a spirited letter of instructions to their agent, in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon the people not represented in the house of commons; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They also acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence in the mode of opposition adopted. In the course of the year, several other colonies, particularly New York and Virginia, remonstrated, in respectful but decided terms, against the proceedings of parliament.

In these several state papers, the right of Great Britain to collect a tax in the colonies, was explicitly denied; and the denial was supported by clear and powerful arguments. It was stated that the first emigrants came to America with the undoubted consent of the mother country; that all the expenses of removal, of purchasing the territory, and, for a long time, of protection from savage warfare, were defrayed by private individuals, except in the single instance of

the settlement of Georgia; that charters, under the great seal, were given to the emigrants, imparting and securing to them, and to their descendants, all the rights of natural born English subjects; that, of these rights, none was more indisputable, and none more highly valued, than that no subject could be deprived of his property but by his own consent, expressed in person or by his representative; that taxes were but grants, by the representative, of a portion of his own property, and of that of those who had authorized him to act in their behalf. Could it be just, it was asked, that the representatives of Englishmen should "give and grant" the property of Americans? With what safety to the colonies could the right of taxing them be confided to a body of men three thousand miles distant, over whom they had no control, none of whom could be acquainted with their situation or resources, and whose interests would impel them to make the burdens of the colonists heavy, that their own might be light?

But, besides infringing the rights of freemen, the measure was neither equitable nor generous. The colonies had domestic governments which they alone supported; in the late war, their exertions had been greater, in proportion to their ability, than those of England; they also had contracted debts which they must themselves pay; the taxes laid by many of the assemblies were higher than those paid by the inhabitants of England; if the war had been waged on their account, it was because, as colonies, they were beneficial to the mother country; and from its happy termination they derived no advantage which was not the source of ultimate profit to her.

Upon men who entertained the strictest notions of colonial dependence, and parliamentary supremacy, these arguments had little effect. The minister was not diverted from his purpose. In March, 1765, he laid before parliament a bill, imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies. At the first reading, it was warmly opposed; by some

because it was impolitic, by two only because it was a violation of right.

The bill was supported by Charles Townshend, a brilliant orator, on the side of the ministry. At the conclusion of an animated speech, he demanded — “And these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, — will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?”

Colonel Barre, immediately rising, indignantly and eloquently exclaimed — “*Children planted by your care!* No. Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelties, of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most terrible, that ever inhabited any part of God’s earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, when they compared them with those they suffered in their own country, from men who should have been their friends.

“*They nourished by your indulgence!* No. They grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were the deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own.

“*They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. They have exerted their valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country which, while its frontier was drenched in blood, has yielded all its

little savings to your emolument. Believe me, — and remember I this day told you so, — the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further.

“God knows I do not at this time speak from party heat. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience any one here may be, I claim to know more of America, having been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if they should be violated. But the subject is delicate; I will say no more.”

Eloquence and argument availed nothing. The bill was almost unanimously passed. The night after, Doctor Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson — “The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.” “Be assured,” said Mr. Thompson in reply, “that we shall light up torches of quite another sort;” thus predicting the commotions which followed.

The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished, at exorbitant prices, by the government, or should have no force in law. Information of its passage was received in all the colonies with sorrow and dismay. They saw that they must either surrender, without a struggle, their darling rights, or resist the government of a nation, which they had been accustomed to regard with filial respect, and was then the most powerful in the world.

The general assembly of Virginia was in session when this intelligence arrived. The principal members — those who took the lead in the debate and guided the deliberations — at that time, and for many years before, belonged to the rich landed aristocracy of the colony. At this session, Patrick Henry, chosen to supply a vacancy, took his seat for the first time.

He was then a young man, almost destitute of fortune, with little education, of rustic manners, and had lately been licensed to practise as an attorney. A few months previously, before a county court, he had argued a cause, the decision of which depended upon the extent of the powers of the king, and of the rights of the colonial legislature — in other words, of the people; and he had sustained the cause of the people with such boldness and impassioned eloquence, as astonished and captivated the audience. Soon after taking his seat in the house of burgesses, he resisted and defeated a project for establishing a loan-office, introduced and supported for selfish purposes, by the aristocratic leaders of the assembly; thus, at one effort, wresting the reins from their hands, and transferring the control of the house to the other class of representatives. Near the close of the session, having waited, as he observed, until he found that no other member was disposed to step forth, he introduced the following resolutions:—

“Resolved, that the first adventurers and settlers of this his majesty’s colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty’s subjects, since inhabiting in this his majesty’s said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have, at any time, been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

“Resolved, that by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

“Resolved, that the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

“Resolved, that his majesty’s liege people of this most ancient colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.

“Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.”

These resolutions were seconded by George Johnston. The debate which followed was able, vehement, and eloquent. They were opposed by Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and others, who were afterwards able and active advocates of the rights of their country. These members did not controvert the principles asserted in the resolutions, but contended that it was inexpedient to adopt them, the same sentiments, in more conciliatory language, having been, at their preceding session, expressed in their petition and memorials, to which no answers had yet been received. The sublime eloquence of Henry and the solid reasoning of Johnston prevailed. The resolutions were adopted; the last, however, which distinctly denied a right which parliament had exercised, was carried by a majority of one vote only.

It is deeply to be regretted that no particular account of this debate has been transmitted to us. Frequent bursts of sublime eloquence, and the bold expression of important political truths, before seldom uttered, must have rendered it interesting to the scholar and the patriot. A single passage in Henry’s speech is all that tradition has furnished; and this may present some idea of the orator’s manner, and of the character of the debate. While descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, he exclaimed, “Cæsar

had his Brutus — Charles the First his Cromwell — and George the Third —" ("Treason!" cried the speaker and others.) Henry, pausing a moment, and fixing his eye on the speaker, finished the sentence — "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

Mr. Henry left the seat of government the evening after the resolutions were adopted. The next morning, a motion was made to erase the last from the journals; and as Henry was absent, and as some members, who had voted for it, had, on reflection, become alarmed at its boldness, the motion prevailed. But by this debate, as well as by the argument of Mr. Otis, at Boston, in 1761, "the seeds of patriots and heroes were sown," which afterwards sprang up and flourished abundantly. The resolutions were industriously but privately circulated, in the principal cities, until they arrived in New England, where they were fearlessly published in all the newspapers.

Nearly at the same time, and before the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her general court adopted measures to procure a combined opposition to the offensive laws. They passed a resolve proposing that a congress of delegates from the several colonies should be held at New York, and addressed letters to the other assemblies, earnestly soliciting their concurrence.

These legislative proceedings took place in May and June, 1765. They were the moderate and dignified expression of feelings which animated, in a more intense degree, a great majority of the people. In New England, associations, for the purpose of resisting the law, were organized, assuming, from Barre's speech, the appellation of "Sons of Liberty;" pamphlets were published vindicating the rights of the colonies; and the public journals were filled with essays pointing out the danger which threatened the cause of liberty, and encouraging a bold and manly resistance.

Excited by these publications, a multitude as-

sembled in Boston, on the 14th of August, burned the effigy of Andrew Oliver, who had been appointed stamp distributor, and demolished a building which they supposed he had erected for his office. Fearful of further injury, Mr. Oliver declared his intention to resign, when the people desisted from molesting him.

Several days afterwards, a mob beset the house of Mr. Story, an officer of the detested admiralty court. They broke his windows, destroyed his furniture, and burned his papers. They then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchison, by whose advice, it was supposed, the stamp-act had been passed. They entered it by force. Himself, his wife, and children, fled. His elegant furniture was carried off or destroyed. The partitions of the house were broken down, and the next morning nothing but the bare and desolate walls remained.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Newport, in Rhode Island, the people of that place assembled and committed similar outrages. Two houses were pillaged, and the stamp distributor, to preserve his own, was obliged to give to the leader of the exasperated populace a written resignation of his office. In Connecticut, similar commotions were also quieted by the resignation of the distributor of stamps for that colony.

In New York, the people displayed equal spirit, but less turbulence and rage. The obnoxious act was printed, under the title of "The Folly of England, and the Ruin of America," and thus exhibited for sale in the streets. At an early period, the stamp-distributor prudently resigned his office; and, when the stamped paper arrived, it was deposited for safe-keeping in the fort. A mob required the lieutenant-governor to place it in their hands. He refused; but, terrified by their menaces, consented to deliver it to the magistrates, who deposited it in the city hall. Ten boxes, which afterwards arrived, were seized by the people, and committed to the flames.

At a session of the superior court held at Perth

Amboy, in New Jersey, the lawyers practising at that court united in declaring that they would not purchase nor use stamps, and that all the gold and silver in the colony was not sufficient to pay the duties for one year. The freemen of Essex county, having met in convention, resolved that they would "detest, abhor, and hold in contempt," all persons who would accept of any office under the act, or would take any advantage of it; and would have no communication with them, "unless it be to inform them of their vileness."

The assembly of Pennsylvania, being in session in September, passed a series of resolutions, in which they asserted the same rights that other colonies had claimed, and declared, moreover, "that to vest in courts of admiralty power to decide suits relating to the stamp act is highly dangerous to the liberties of his majesty's American subjects, and destructive of the trial by jury." When the ships bringing the stamped paper arrived in sight of Philadelphia, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors half mast high, and the bells were muffled and tolled. The citizens assembled, and procured from Mr. Hughes, the stamp distributor, a promise that he would sell no stamps until the act had been put in execution in the other colonies.

In Virginia, public sentiment was manifested with equal distinctness. The justices of the court of Westmoreland county resigned their offices, because they might be compelled, in obedience to their oaths, to aid in executing the stamp act; and George Mercer, the stamp distributor, was induced to declare that he would not perform any official duty without the assent of the assembly.

So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp officers, in all the colonies, were compelled to resign, or engaged not to perform any official duty. In Boston, care was taken, on the one hand, to prevent the recurrence of violent proceedings, and, on the other, to keep in full vigor the spirit of resistance. A newspaper was established, having for its device a

snake divided into as many parts as there were colonies, and for its motto, "Join or die." Mr. Oliver was required to resign his office, with more ceremony and solemnity, under a large elm, which had, from the meetings held under it, received the name of the tree of liberty.

In October, the congress recommended by Massachusetts convened at New York. Delegates from six provinces only were present. Their first act was a Declaration of Rights, in which they asserted, that the colonies were entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain, the most essential of which were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. A petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament, were also agreed on; and the colonial assemblies were advised to appoint special agents to solicit, in concert, a redress of grievances. To interest the people of England in the cause of the colonies, the merchants of New York directed their correspondents, in that country, to purchase no more goods until the stamp act should be repealed. Immediately after, non-importation agreements were adopted in the other colonies, and associations were organized for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. To avoid the necessity of stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and disputes were settled by arbitration.

In the mean time, an entire change had taken place in the British cabinet, and a proposition to repeal the stamp act was, by the new ministry, laid before parliament. An interesting debate ensued. Mr. Grenville, the late prime minister, declared, that to repeal the act under existing circumstances, would degrade the government, and encourage rebellion. "When," he demanded, "were the Americans emancipated? By what law, by what reason, do they ungratefully claim exemption from defraying expenses incurred in protecting them?"

William Pitt—he who had wielded, with such

mighty effect, the power of England in the late war — rose to reply. He regretted that he had not been able to attend in his place, and oppose the law on its passage. "It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this house; but I must beg the indulgence of this house to speak of it with freedom. Assuredly a more important subject never engaged your attention; that subject only excepted, when, nearly a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were bond or free?"

"Those who have spoken before me, with so much vehemence, would maintain the act because our honor demands it. But can the point of honor stand opposed against justice, against reason, against right? It is my opinion that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.

"Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone; when, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty — what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.

"It has been asked, 'When were the Americans emancipated?' But I desire to know when they were made slaves. I hear it said, that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves.

"The honorable member has said, — for he is fluent in words of bitterness, — that America is ungrateful. He boasts of his bounties towards her. But are not

these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? The profits of Great Britain, from her commerce with the colonies, are two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, seventy years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. You owe this to America. This is the price she pays you for protection.

“A great deal has been said without doors, and more than is discreet, of the power, of the strength of America. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on the ground of this tax, when it is wished to prosecute an evident injustice, I am one who will lift my hands and my voice against it. In such a cause, your success would be deplorable, and victory hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her.”

The sentiments of this great statesman prevailed in parliament. The stamp act was repealed; but another act was passed declaring that “the legislature of Great Britain has authority to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.” The merchants of London rejoiced at this repeal. They had felt the effects of the colonial non-importation agreements, and dreaded that still more injurious consequences would follow.

But far greater were the rejoicings of the Americans. They had obtained the object for which they had contended. They regarded the declaratory act as the mere reservation of wounded pride, and welcomed with transport the opportunity of again cherishing their former affection for the land of their fathers. The assemblies of several colonies voted their thanks to Mr. Pitt, and to others in England, who had supported their cause; and that of Virginia resolved to erect an obelisk to their honor, and a marble statue of the king, as a memorial of gratitude.

By the people of New England and New York less joy was felt and less gratitude displayed. The laws imposing duties on their trade were still in force. The courts of admiralty, sitting without juries, still retained jurisdiction of all revenue causes. Their repeated contests with their governors had weakened their attachment to the nation that appointed them, and confirmed their republican principles. They still remembered the past and entertained suspicions of the future.

The very next year, events occurred which justified these suspicions. A law of parliament, called the mutiny act, which yet remained in force, contained a provision, that, whenever troops should be marched into any of the colonies, quarters, rum, and various necessary articles, should be furnished for them at the expense of the colony. So long as the troops sent over were employed to defend the colony, no complaint was made of this provision; but this year, an additional body of troops being ordered to New York, the assembly, on the application of the governor, refused to comply with it, on the ground that, in effect, it taxed the people without their consent, and was therefore not obligatory. To punish this disobedience, parliament prohibited the assembly from passing any law until that provision of the mutiny act should be complied with. It was easily seen that nothing had been gained, if this power of suspending, for such a cause, the most important functions of a colonial legislature, existed, and could be exercised at pleasure.

Another act, passed almost contemporaneously, confirmed their suspicions, and increased their alarm. The Rockingham ministry, under whose auspices the stamp act had been repealed, had been dismissed, and another, of which the duke of Grafton, General Conway, and Charles Townshend, were prominent members, had been appointed. The new ministry found the treasury empty, provisions dear, the taxes burdensome, and the people discontented and riotous. In

the distresses of the nation, the people were dissatisfied that the colonies were not compelled to contribute their proportion; the opposition in parliament echoed the complaints of the people, and Grenville, in one of his speeches, tauntingly told the ministry that they dared not tax them. Townshend, who was chancellor of the exchequer, willing to relieve his English fellow-citizens, and provoked by the taunt, immediately replied that he dared to tax them, and would tax them, believing it could be done in a way which would not conflict with their principles.

He remembered that, in the late disputes, a distinction had been made by Mr. Pitt and some of the colonial writers between internal and external taxes. The stamp tax was then the principal topic of discussion; that was an internal tax; and the writers had contented themselves with showing that it was, for that reason, unauthorized; and probably some had admitted that external taxes were not liable to the same objection. He indulged the hope, therefore, that the colonies would submit to the latter, and soon after brought in a bill, which was passed in June, 1767, imposing a duty on paper, glass, tea, and other enumerated articles, when imported into the colonies. The duty imposed on tea was three pence a pound; and to render this tax palatable, a drawback of a shilling a pound was allowed on the exportation of the tea from England; thus in fact diminishing the whole duty nine pence the pound, but providing that three pence should be paid in the colonial ports, where none had been paid before. And provision was made that the duties collected should be expended in governing, protecting, and securing the colonies.

It had always been difficult to collect duties, or in any way enforce the acts of trade, in the colonies. Distant from the mother country, and obnoxious to public odium, the custom-house officers acted without energy, and often connived at the violation of the laws. Parliament therefore passed another act, authorizing the appointment of a board of commissioners of the

customs in America, with extensive powers. It was determined that the place of their sessions should be at Boston; and in the beginning of November three of them arrived at that place, the other two being already there. They were regarded by the people as the instruments of usurped authority to enforce odious laws, and their presence in the country increased the general irritation.

The general court of Massachusetts did not now admit any distinction between external and internal taxes. In January, 1768, pursuing the same course as in 1764, they addressed a petition to the king, and also a letter to their agent in London, containing many and able arguments against the duties imposed, and requested him to communicate the letter to the ministry. They also sent to the other colonial assemblies a circular letter, in which those arguments were repeated, and suggested the expediency of acting in concert in all endeavors to obtain redress.

These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence, and determined, if possible, to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the general court to rescind the vote directing the circular letter to be sent, and, in case of refusal, to dissolve it. The governor communicated these instructions to the house of representatives, which, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved. Instructions were also sent to the governors of the other colonies, commanding them "to exert their utmost influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, by prevailing on the several assemblies to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves." Whatever efforts were made by these governors, none or but few of them succeeded. Some of the assemblies addressed to the king petitions against the law; and from many, letters were sent to

the general court of Massachusetts, approving its proceedings.

These attempts to intimidate did but strengthen opposition. Non-importation agreements were again resorted to. In August, the merchants of Boston agreed not to import any goods from Great Britain, nor purchase such as should be imported, for one year after the first day of the next January; and not to import, nor purchase of any one who should import, from any other colony, paper, glass, tea, &c., which had been imported from Great Britain; and, soon after, the merchants of Connecticut and New York entered into similar agreements.

The general court of Massachusetts being dissolved, the patriots of Boston found that they could not pursue their usual mode of diffusing the principles of liberty and a knowledge of the designs of the ministry among the people, by means of their representatives. A town meeting was called, and a committee appointed, to request the governor to issue precepts for the election of a new assembly. He replied that he could issue no precepts until he had received his majesty's commands. The meeting thereupon chose a committee, consisting of their late representatives, to act as delegates to a colonial convention; and the selectmen were instructed to invite, by a circular, the other towns in the province to choose committees or delegates. Nearly every town complied with the invitation. The convention met in September, and, though it disclaimed all legal authority, was regarded with the same respect as a legitimate assembly. Its proceedings were unimportant; but, by its sessions in the metropolis of New England, the people became accustomed to pay deference to a body of men deriving all their authority from the instructions of their constituents.

On so many occasions had the refractory spirit of the citizens of Boston been displayed, that General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of all the troops

in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, as well to overawe the citizens, as to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of the sloop *Liberty*, belonging to Mr. Hancock, a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten. The general, on receiving information of this event, sent two regiments, instead of one ; and on the first of October they arrived in the harbor.

The ships that brought them, taking a station that commanded the whole town, lay with their broadsides towards it, ready to fire, should resistance be attempted. The troops, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, then landed ; and, the selectmen having refused to provide quarters, they took possession of the state-house. All the rooms, except one reserved for the council, were filled, and two pieces of cannon were placed near the principal entrance.

With indignant and exasperated feelings, the people witnessed this threatening display of military force. They saw the hall of their venerated legislature polluted by the tread of foreign mercenaries. They saw soldiers parading their streets, and guards mounted at the corners. They were challenged as they passed, and the unwelcome din of martial music often disturbed their repose. They knew that intimidation was the object, and felt a stronger determination to resist than had before animated their bosoms.

Upon the arrival of the troops at Boston, the commanding officer had applied to Governor Bernard to provide for them the articles mentioned in the mutiny act. The general court not being in session, he laid the application before the council, who advised him to authorize some person to supply them, "provided such person will take the risk of being paid by the province such sums as may be expended for that purpose." No person could be found, as the council well knew, who would take the risk ; and the articles were provided at the charge of the crown.

Resolutions, in the mean time, had been adopted in parliament, censuring, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and directing the governor to make strict inquiry as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. By these it was rendered sufficiently evident that Great Britain had determined to adhere to the system of measures she had adopted. In May, they were taken into consideration by the house of burgesses of Virginia. In sundry resolutions, they reasserted the right of the colonies to be exempted from parliamentary taxation, and declared that seizing persons in the colonies, suspected of having committed crimes therein, and sending them beyond sea to be tried, violated the rights of British subjects, as it deprived them of the inestimable right of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, and of producing witnesses on their trial.

While these resolutions were under discussion, the house, apprehensive of an immediate dissolution, should the subject of their deliberations be known to the governor, closed their doors. The instant they were opened, a message was announced, requesting their attendance before him. "Mr. Speaker," said he, "and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

This, like every previous measure of intimidation, excited to a still higher degree the spirit of opposition. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker to preside as moderator, and unanimously formed a non-importation agreement similar to those previously adopted at the north. In a few weeks, the example of Virginia was followed by most of the southern colonies.

At the time prescribed by the charter of Massachusetts for the election of representatives, only five of the seventeen rescinders, but nearly all of the non-

rescindors, were rechosen. This very clearly indicated the sentiments of the great body of the people. At their session held in the summer of 1769, the governor, by message, desired them to make provision for paying the expenses already incurred in supplying the troops with the articles mentioned in the mutiny act, and also for supplying them in future. In their answer, the house, after dwelling at length upon the provisions of the act, observe that "of all new regulations, the stamp act not excepted, this under consideration is most excessively unreasonable. For, in effect, the yet free representatives of the free assemblies of North America are called upon to repay, of their own and their constituents' money, such sums as persons over whom they can have no control, may be pleased to expend." And they closed by saying, "Your excellency must therefore excuse us in this express declaration, that, as we cannot, consistently with our honor or interest, and much less with the duty we owe our constituents, so we never shall, make provision for the purpose in your message mentioned."

To the citizens of Boston, the troops quartered among them were a painful and irritating spectacle. Quarrels occurring daily between them and the populace, increased the animosity of each to ungovernable hatred. At length, on the evening of the fifth of March, an affray took place in King Street, (since called State Street,) in which a detachment of the troops commanded by Captain Preston, after being insulted, pelted with snow-balls, and dared to fire, discharged their muskets upon the multitude, killing four persons and wounding others.

The drums were instantly beat to arms, and several thousand people assembled, who, enraged by the sight of the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens, slain in a cause dear to them all, prepared to attack a larger detachment, which had been sent to support their comrades. In this state of excitement, they were addressed by Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who appeared in the midst of them. Though personally

obnoxious, he calmed their fury, and prevailed upon them to disperse until morning.

The next day, Captain Preston and his party were arrested and committed to prison. The citizens met and appointed a committee to demand the immediate removal of the troops from the town. At this meeting, Samuel Adams, one of the earliest patriots, and even then avowing himself in favor of independence, was distinguished for his decision and boldness. After some hesitation on the part of the commanding officer, they were sent to Castle William, and were accompanied by several officers of the customs, who dreaded the indignation of the people.

Three days afterwards, the funeral of the deceased took place. It was conducted with great pomp and unusual ceremonies, expressive of the public feeling. The shops were closed. The bells of Boston, Roxbury, and Charlestown, were tolled. Four processions, moving from different parts of the town, met at the fatal spot, and proceeded thence towards the place of interment. This united procession comprised an immense number of people on foot and in carriages, all displaying the deepest grief and indignation. The bodies were deposited together in the same vault.

When the passions of the people had in some degree subsided, Captain Preston and eight of his soldiers were brought to trial. They were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two able lawyers and distinguished leaders of the popular party. For nearly six weeks the court were employed in examining witnesses and in listening to the arguments of counsel. Captain Preston, not having ordered his men to fire, was acquitted by the jury. Of the soldiers, six were also acquitted, there being no positive testimony that they fired upon the people; and two were acquitted of murder, as great provocation was offered, but found guilty of manslaughter—a result evincing the integrity of the jury and the magnanimity and uprightness of the counsel for the accused.

The unexpected opposition of the colonists to the

new duties convinced the ministry that it was expedient to change their measures. Near the close of the year 1769, they, by circular letters to the several governors, which were published, declared that they had at no time entertained a design to propose any further taxes upon the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that they intended to propose, at the next session of parliament, to take off the duties on glass, paper, and colors, "upon consideration of such duties being contrary to the true principles of commerce." The reason assigned deprived their declared intention of most of its merit. The merchants of Boston, in a general meeting, unanimously voted that repealing the duties on those articles only would not be satisfactory, and confirmed their former non-importation agreement.

At the next session of parliament, Lord North, who had lately been appointed first minister, proposed a bill to repeal all the duties but that on tea. Some members of the opposition strongly urged him to take off all the duties, and not preserve contention while he relinquished revenue. But "Can it be proper," he replied, "to acquiesce in the argument of illegality, and, by the repeal of the whole law, give up our power? No. The proper time to exert our right of taxation is when the right is denied. A total repeal cannot be thought of until America is prostrated at our feet." The bill, as proposed, was passed by parliament, and on the 12th of April, 1770, received the royal assent.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REVOLUTION.

THE partial repeal of the revenue duties had no effect upon a large portion of the American people.

Their resistance to the claims of Great Britain was founded on principle. They believed that those claims were unfounded, and felt that to submit to them would degrade them from the rank of freemen. They had become convinced that the prosperity of the colonies depended on their retaining the exclusive right to tax themselves; and the free and fearless discussions which had been carried on had even led them to the conclusion, to which they had no expectation of arriving when the disputes began, that, whatever might be the power of the king, the parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies in any case whatsoever. They believed that their assemblies were their own parliaments, the king standing in the same relation to them that he did to those of England and of Ireland.

Individuals who entertained this opinion were found in all the colonies; but they were much the most numerous in New England. There, commercial restrictions were most sensibly felt; there free principles were most early and most deeply implanted; and there too prevailed, more than elsewhere, deep-rooted hostility to the Church of England, and real dread of being made subject to its power. The southern colonies were differently situated. In them but few were engaged in commerce; they were settled by a different class of people; in most of them the Church of England was established by law; and the mass of the inhabitants were less conversant with political topics.

A rigid adherence, for a long time, to the non-importation agreements, was perhaps more than could be expected of men living in distinct and remote communities, and accustomed to the luxuries and conveniences which could only be obtained from abroad. At first, they were faithfully observed; in time, a few transgressed; reports were circulated in one city, probably by the adherents of the royal cause, that another was faithless, and this was received as an excuse by the first to depart from the compact. Before the close of the year 1770, the sternest patriots were obliged to consent that the agreements should be con-

fined to the single article of tea, which should be excluded from the country so long as it should be liable to a duty.

In Massachusetts, various causes contributed to prevent the restoration of tranquillity. Just before the repeal of the duties, Governor Bernard left the province, having taken leave of the house in an angry speech; and his duties devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. When the troops were in Boston, the house refused to transact any business while surrounded by a military force; and, to remove the complaint, he had directed the clerk to adjourn them to Cambridge. Against this they remonstrated, and, though they held their sessions there, did little else than carry on a spirited controversy with the lieutenant-governor, upon the right of the executive to prescribe the place as well as the time of their meeting; and for a long time he positively refused to permit them to sit at Boston. While they were in this state of irritation, he gave them a new occasion, which they seized with avidity, to remonstrate and condemn. He removed the provincial troops from the castle, and admitted into it a body of British troops, under the command of Colonel Dalrymple. They declared that surrendering the government of this fortress to the military power, independent of the civil power of the colony, was such an essential alteration of the constitution as most justly to alarm a free people.

And before long another cause of dissatisfaction and controversy arose, which had a powerful influence in sundering the ties which had bound the colonists to the mother country. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and the judges of the superior court, had heretofore been paid out of the colonial treasury; and the house possessed the power of voting annually such salaries as the conduct of these officers might seem to merit. At the last session before the departure of Bernard, they not merely neglected but refused to vote him any pay. In 1771, Mr. Hutchinson was appointed governor, Mr. Oliver lieutenant-governor; and the king

assigned to them and to the judges salaries greater than they had before received, to be paid out of the national treasury. By this measure, those officers were made dependent on the crown, and released from all dependence on the people. And when it was known that they had rejected the money of the people, and consented to receive that of the king, the house was unsparing in its sarcastic criminations, and the colony resounded with one loud peal of indignation.

To enforce the acts of trade and prevent smuggling, armed vessels were stationed on the American coast. Of these, the *Gaspee*, commanded by Lieutenant Duddington, cruised in the waters of Rhode Island. This officer had incurred the resentment of the traders, and of all who navigated those waters, by his vigilance, and more by haughtily requiring that every vessel, that came within reach of his guns, should strike her flag. A Providence packet came near with colors flying; the *Gaspee* fired a shot, which was disregarded; she then made sail in chase, and the packet designedly led her into shoal water, where she grounded. In the night, she was boarded by a large party from Providence, set on fire, and burnt. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered to the person who should give information of any one concerned in the transaction; and a special court was constituted, by the king, to try the offenders. No information was obtained, although the actors were known to many; several persons were arrested and confined, that they might be examined as witnesses, but were set at liberty by the patriots; and the special court, after two long sessions, was dissolved without accomplishing any thing. The creation of this court by the king, while competent courts of justice existed in the colony, was complained of as a violation of the charter, and an arbitrary exercise of unconstitutional power.

Samuel Adams has already been mentioned as one of the most resolute of the Boston patriots. He was educated for the ministry, but became a trader, though with small means; and, relinquishing that pursuit, ac-

cepted the office of collector of town taxes. In him were concentrated the virtues and peculiarities of the Puritans. He was tenacious of his opinions, indefatigable in pursuing his purposes, unambitious of wealth or office, pious, and thoughtful; he associated with all, was intimate with few, suggested expedients, and guided when he seemed to follow. For many years, he was a representative to the general court; and most of the messages and remonstrances of the house — state papers scarcely equalled in the English language — were from his pen. He lamented the prospect of returning quiet, for he feared it would give England an opportunity to destroy American liberty. Visiting his brother patriot, James Warren, of Plymouth, they together concerted a plan to restore animation to the contest. This was to procure the appointment, in every town, of committees of correspondence. He returned to Boston, and immediately began, and by assiduous labor executed the plan. By the agency of these, resolutions and addresses, sometimes inflammatory and always spirited, were speedily conveyed through the country, arousing the attention of all, and exhorting to perseverance in the cause of liberty. This example was soon after followed in other colonies; and, in 1773, at the suggestion of the Virginia assembly, standing committees were appointed by the colonial legislatures, to correspond with each other. This institution, when more active opposition became necessary, was found extremely useful, and contributed, perhaps, as much as any other means, to accomplish the great object which its projectors aimed at.

In this year, Dr. Franklin obtained in London a number of original letters from Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, and others, to their correspondents in parliament. In these letters, the opposition in Massachusetts was stated to be confined to a few factious individuals, who had been imboldened by the weakness of the means used to restrain them. Measures more vigorous were recommended; and

the ministry were urged to take from the people, and exercise themselves, the power of appointing councillors and all colonial magistrates. These letters he transmitted to Boston.

The source and occasion of the offensive proceedings of parliament were now disclosed. The passions of the people were highly inflamed, and the weight of popular indignation fell upon the authors of these letters. The central committee of correspondence, at Boston, sent printed copies, enclosed in a spirited circular, to all the towns in the province; and the general court, in several resolutions, which were also published, animadverted with severity upon the misrepresentations and advice contained in the letters, thus increasing the irritation which their discovery and perusal had occasioned.

Meanwhile the tea of the East India Company, not finding a market in America, accumulated in their warehouses in England. Encouraged by the government, they resolved to export it on their own account, and appointed consignees in the various seaports in the colonies. Those in Philadelphia were induced, by the disapprobation expressed by the citizens, to decline their appointment. In New York, spirited handbills were circulated, menacing with ruin every person who should be concerned in vending tea, and requiring the pilots, at their peril, not to conduct ships, loaded with that article, into the harbor. Intimidated by these proceedings, the captains of the tea ships, bound to those ports, returned with their cargoes to England.

In Boston, inflammatory handbills were also circulated, and meetings held; but the consignees, being mostly relatives of the governor, and relying on his support, refused to decline their appointments. Their refusal enraged the citizens, and the community became agitated by the operation of highly-excited passions. Meetings were more frequently held. The committees of correspondence were every where active. The people of the country exhorted their

brethren in Boston to act worthy of their former character, worthy of "Sons of Liberty," upon whose conduct, in the present emergency, every thing depended.

On the 29th of November, a ship laden with tea came into the harbor. Notifications were immediately posted up inviting every friend to his country to meet forthwith, and concert united resistance to the arbitrary measures of Britain. A crowded meeting was held, and a resolution adopted, "that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same vessel." A watch was also organized to prevent it from being secretly brought on shore.

A short time was then allowed for the captain to prepare to return home with his cargo. Governor Hutchinson refused to grant him the requisite permission to pass the castle. Other vessels, laden with tea, arrived. The agitation increased, and on the 18th of December, the inhabitants of Boston and the adjoining towns assembled to determine what course should be pursued. At this important meeting, Josiah Quincy, desirous that the consequences of the measures to be adopted should be first seriously contemplated, thus addressed his fellow-citizens:—

"It is not, Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapors within these walls that will sustain us in the hour of need. The proceedings of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate our trials, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that inveterate malice and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, abroad and in our bosom,—to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest, sharpest conflicts, or to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, and popular acclamations, will

vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue; let us look to the end; let us weigh and deliberate, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

In the evening, the question was put, "Do you abide by your former resolution to prevent the landing of the tea?" The vote was unanimous in the affirmative. Application was again made to the governor for a pass. After a short delay, his refusal was communicated to the assembly. Instantly a person, disguised like an Indian, gave the war-whoop from the gallery. At this signal, the people rushed out of the house and hastened to the wharves. About twenty persons, in the dress of Mohawks, boarded the vessels, and, protected by the crowd on shore, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and emptied their contents into the ocean. Their purpose accomplished, the multitude returned without tumult to their habitations.

These proceedings excited the anger of parliament and the displeasure of the British nation. Punishment, not a change of measures, was resolved upon. An act prohibiting the landing of any goods at Boston, and removing the custom-house and seat of government to Salem, was passed, and was to continue in force until compensation should be made for the tea destroyed; another act was passed taking from the general court and giving to the crown the appointment of councillors, and vesting in the governor alone the appointment of all colonial officers; and a third, declaring that, without leave in writing from the governor, no town meeting should be held in any town in Massachusetts, except for the choice of officers or representatives, and at such meetings "no other matter should be treated of." And General Gage was made governor in the place of Mr. Hutchinson.

Intelligence of the Boston port bill occasioned a meeting of the citizens of the town; they were sensible that "the most trying and terrible struggle" was

indeed now approaching, but felt unawed by its terrors. They sought not to shelter themselves from the storm by submission, but became more resolute as it increased. They declared the act to be unjust and inhuman, and invited their brethren in the other colonies to unite with them in a general non-importation agreement.

A similar spirit pervaded and animated the whole country. Addresses from the adjacent towns, and from every part of the continent, were sent to the citizens of Boston, applauding their resolution, exhorting them to perseverance, and assuring them that they were considered as suffering in a common cause. In Virginia, the first day of June, when the law began to operate, was observed as a public and solemn fast. With devout feelings, the divine interposition was implored, in all the churches, to avert the evils of civil war, and to give to the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of their liberty.

The same day was observed, with similar solemnity, in most of the other colonies; and thus an opportunity was presented to the ministers of the gospel to dispense political instruction, to paint, in vivid colors, the sufferings of the citizens of Boston, and to warn their congregations, that, should Great Britain succeed in her schemes, the danger to their religious would be as great as to their civil privileges; that a tame submission to the will of parliament would inevitably be followed by bishops, tithes, test acts, and ecclesiastical tribunals.

An act of parliament, then recently passed, had excited the religious as well as political jealousy of the people. It so extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec as to include all the territory north of the Ohio, which was claimed by Virginia, and so much of what then belonged to Massachusetts as lay between the high lands in the north part of Maine and the St. Lawrence; it established a legislative body, for the province, to consist of a council only to be appointed by the king; Roman Catholics were

permitted to hold a seat in it; Catholic priests were allowed to collect tithes from all of that faith; and in civil causes, trials by jury, in compliance with French usages and prejudices, were dispensed with.

The Boston port bill occasioned distress as severe as the ministry could have expected or intended. Nearly all were compelled to be idle. Many, by loss of employment, lost their sole means of support. In this extremity, contributions in money and provisions were forwarded to them from all the colonies, as proofs of sympathy in their distresses, and of approbation of their having met and manfully withstood the first shock of arbitrary power.

Gradually and constantly had the minds and feelings of the Americans been preparing for this important crisis. That enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the soul above all considerations of interest or danger had now become their ruling passion. The inhabitants of Salem spurned advantages to be derived from the punishment inflicted on a sister town, for its zeal in a sacred and common cause. "We must," said they, in a remonstrance to the governor, "be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes from the ruin of our suffering neighbors."

In June, the general court assembled at Salem; and among their first acts were, the recommendation of a Continental congress, which had been suggested by the committee of correspondence in Virginia, and the choice of delegates to attend it. While engaged, with closed doors, in this business, Governor Gage, who had received a private intimation of their purposes, dissolved the court by a proclamation, which was read upon the steps. In all the other colonies, except Georgia, delegates were also chosen.

It would be unjust to those who were distinguished members of this congress, and continued active in the cause of liberty, to pass on without recording their names. John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; Samuel

Adams and John Adams, of Massachusetts; Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; John Jay, of New York; William Livingston, of New Jersey; John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, and George Ross, of Pennsylvania; Cæsar Rodney and Thomas M'Kean, of Delaware; Samuel Chase, of Maryland; Peyton Randolph, Richard H. Lee, George Washington, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia; Henry Middleton and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, were members. The whole number was fifty-one.

On the fifth of September, 1774, this congress met at Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph was unanimously elected president, and Charles Thompson secretary. It was determined that each colony should have but one vote, whatever might be the number of its delegates; that they should sit with closed doors; and that all their transactions, except such as they should resolve to publish, should be kept secret.

Resolutions were then adopted, expressing the sympathy of congress in the sufferings of their countrymen in Massachusetts, and highly approving the wisdom and fortitude of their conduct. They declared that every person, who should accept of any commission under the act changing the form of government in Massachusetts, "ought to be held in abhorrence, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism which was preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact, had given to America." They also resolved that the importation of goods from Great Britain should cease on the first day of the succeeding December, and all exports to that country on the tenth of September, 1775, unless American grievances should be sooner redressed. And feeling the inconsistency of dealing in slaves, while professing attachment to liberty, they also resolved that, after the first of December, they would not import any slave, nor purchase any imported by others. These resolutions possessed no legal force; but never were laws more faithfully observed.

In other resolutions, they enumerated certain rights, which, as men and English subjects, "they claimed, demanded, and insisted on." These rights were, in most respects, the same as those claimed by the colonial assemblies. Going farther than some of them, the congress claimed for them the exclusive right of internal legislation; and not so far as others, it yielded to parliament the right to regulate external commerce. The several acts of parliament, violating the rights claimed, were then enumerated, and the repeal of them declared to be "essentially necessary to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." Addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of Canada, and to their constituents, were prepared and published; and an affectionate petition to the king was agreed on.

In these able and important state papers, the claims, principles, and feelings, of their constituents are clearly and eloquently set forth. They glow with the love of liberty; they display a determination, too firm to be shaken, to defend and preserve it at every hazard; they contain the strongest professions of attachment to the mother country, and of loyalty to the king. A desire of independence is expressly disavowed. "Place us," say the congress, "in the situation we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." "We ask," say they in their petition, "but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."

These papers, going forth to the world, made the cause of the colonies known throughout Europe, and conciliated those who had embraced liberal principles in politics, or felt displeasure at the pride and haughtiness of Britain. Their tone of manly energy, and the knowledge they displayed of political science, excited universal applause and admiration.

“When your lordships,” said Mr. Pitt, in the British senate, “have perused the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom, with which the Americans have acted,—you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favorite study; and in the celebrated writings of antiquity I have often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that in the master states of the world, I know not the people nor the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general congress at Philadelphia. I trust that it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile.”

The resolve of the congress to sit with closed doors has withheld from the historian the power of describing the deportment and eloquence of the members, and of assigning to each that rank among those fearless patriots which his talents and zeal entitled him to hold. When only glimpses can be afforded, they will not therefore be considered beneath the dignity of history. Among the members not named was Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania. He afterwards deserted the cause, and went to England, where he published a work on the “American Rebellion.” In speaking of this congress, he says of Samuel Adams, “He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was this man, who, by his superior application, managed at once the factions in congress at Philadelphia, and the factions of New England.” Of John Adams it is related, that, when advised by a friend not to accept of the appointment of delegate, as Great Britain was determined to subdue the colonies, and her power was irresistible, he replied that, “as to his fate, the die was cast; the Rubicon was passed; sink or swim, live or die,—to survive or perish with his country was his unalterable

resolution." When Patrick Henry returned home, he was asked whom he thought the greatest man in the congress. "If you speak of eloquence," he replied, not thinking what rank others might assign to himself; "Mr. Rutledge is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man." It is known that John Adams and Patrick Henry were then of opinion that the contest must ultimately be decided by force; and that Washington and Lee thought that the measures then adopted would obtain a redress of grievances.

In America, the proceedings of congress were read with enthusiasm and veneration. Their reasonings confirmed the conviction, strongly felt by nearly the whole people, of the perfect justice of their cause. In the address to themselves, they were admonished "to extend their views to mournful events, and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency." Great efforts were consequently made to provide arms and all the munitions of war. Independent companies were formed; voluntary trainings were frequent; the old and the young, the rich and the poor, devoted their hours of amusement and of leisure to exercises calculated to fit them to act a part in the anticipated conflict. The country was alive with the bustle of preparation, and in every countenance could be read the expectation of important transactions, in which all must participate.

Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants from England, the most of those who held offices by her appointment, many whose timidity magnified her power, clung to her authority, and, as the crisis approached, declared themselves her adherents. These were denominated tories; the friends of liberty, whigs — names by which the advocates of arbitrary power, and the friends of constitutional liberty, were distinguished in England.

General Gage, who had been recently appointed governor of Massachusetts, withdrew, from other posts

on the continent, several regiments of troops, and encamped them on the Common, in Boston. He afterwards erected fortifications on the Neck, a narrow isthmus which unites the town with the main land; and on the night of the first of September, he seized the powder deposited in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge.

The people, meanwhile, were not idle. They appointed delegates to a provincial congress, which assembled in the beginning of October. Mr. Hancock was chosen president; and the delegates resolved, that, for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one fourth of the militia, should be organized and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; that money should be raised to purchase military stores; and they appointed a committee of supplies, and a committee of safety, to sit during the recess.

The more southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, displayed the same love of liberty and determination to resist; provincial congresses were convened, committees appointed, and resolutions passed, designed and adapted to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger, and to excite in all hearts that devotion to country which is alone capable of sustaining a people in an arduous struggle with a superior foe.

CHAPTER XIX.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

IN the parliament of Great Britain, American affairs came on to be discussed in the beginning of the year 1775. At the opening of the session, in the preceding November, the king had indicated, with sufficient clearness, his own feelings, by announcing that "a

most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws still unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced in other colonies; and unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdoms by unlawful combinations." Addresses to the king, echoing the sentiments of the speech, were, after long and spirited debates, agreed to in both houses.

Soon afterwards, the proceedings of the congress at Philadelphia arrived in England. Mr. Pitt, who had been created Lord Chatham, and had long retired from public life, now resumed his seat in the house of lords, and moved an address to the king, praying him, in order to open the way to a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, to give orders to General Gage to remove the troops from Boston; and he supported his motion by one of his most eloquent speeches. It was opposed by the ministry, and rejected by a large majority.

He made, however, another effort. He presented a bill setting forth, in detail, his plan for "settling the troubles in the colonies," the principal features of which were, asserting the supreme legislative authority of parliament, and relinquishing in effect the right of taxation. Had it passed, it would not, probably, have satisfied the colonies. Lord Sandwich moved that it should be immediately "rejected with the contempt it deserved. I cannot believe," said he, "that it is the production of a British pen. I fancy I have in my eye" (turning to Dr. Franklin, who was in the lobby) "the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country ever knew." Lord Chatham replied that the plan was entirely his own; and this declaration he felt the more bound to make, because it had been so severely censured. "But," said he, "if I were the first minister of this country, I should not be ashamed of calling publicly to my assistance a person so perfectly acquainted

with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to; one whom all Europe holds in estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranks with our Newtons and Boyles; who is an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature." The bill was rejected at the first reading, the lords not being disposed even to consider it.

The principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, which were suffering from the effects of the non-importation agreements, poured in their petitions in favor of conciliation with the colonies; the Quakers appealed to parliament in behalf of their brethren of Nantucket; Franklin, Bollan, and Lee, requested to be heard at the bar of the house before decisive measures were adopted; but the ministry, before they heard, proceeded at once to condemn and to punish. It is now believed that they acted according to the explicit commands of the king; and the vacillation apparent in the councils of the nation at this period must doubtless be attributed to difference of opinion and feelings between him and them. They introduced a bill confining the trade of the colonies of New England to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and prohibiting those colonies from fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland; and soon after they introduced another, subjecting the trade of all the colonies represented in the late congress, except New York and North Carolina, to the same restriction. Why North Carolina was excepted is not known. That favor was extended to New York, because the assembly of that colony, less patriotic than the people, had refused to send delegates to the congress,—those who went being chosen at county meetings,—and had afterwards, by a small majority, refused to accede to the non-importation agreements proposed by that body.

At the same session, Lord North, to the surprise of many of the supporters of parliamentary supremacy, proposed his conciliatory plan. It provided that if any colony would engage to contribute a sum satis-

factory to his majesty, for the common defence, the parliament would forbear to tax that colony so long as the contribution should be punctually paid. At first, some of his supporters, believing that it yielded too much, opposed it; but an intimation being given that the object of the plan was to weaken the colonies by dividing them, it was adopted by the usual majority. Appropriations were afterwards made for enlarging the naval and military force; and several ships of the line and ten thousand troops were sent to America.

Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley brought forward plans of conciliation; but both were rejected. The debates on these several questions were long, able, and occasionally ill tempered and violent. In favor of measures of coercion and punishment, it was urged, that the colonists had lately evinced a spirit of independence, and it was necessary to crush this spirit in its birth; that they began by denying the right of parliament to impose internal taxes, then to impose either internal or external taxes, and now to legislate for them in any case whatsoever; that as government yielded they had advanced, at every surrender higher claims had been asserted, and a crisis had now arrived when the only question was, "Shall an effort be made to enforce obedience, or shall all power over them be relinquished forever?" that it would be disgraceful to Englishmen to permit the empire to be dismembered without a struggle; that it was just that they should pay the taxes imposed, as they now contributed less in proportion to their wealth than the inhabitants of Great Britain; that the measures proposed were neither unjust nor cruel, as they were legitimate means to enforce obedience to just laws; that their very severity made them expedient, as the greater the suffering, the sooner would it compel submission; that the Americans were incited to resistance by factious partisans at home, were cowardly, spiritless, constitutionally feeble, incapable of discipline, and nothing but stern resolution and united efforts were necessary to insure success.

The speakers on the other side contended, that the course pursued towards the colonies, since the close of the war with France, was inconsistent with the free principles of the English constitution; that the conduct of the Americans was such as ought to be expected of the descendants of Englishmen, and not of a nature to be visited with vindictive punishment; that, by their enterprise, industry, and bravery, they had contributed largely to the wealth and glory of the nation; that they still professed loyalty to the king, and, until parliament began to tax them, displayed devoted loyalty in all their actions; that the measures proposed were cruel, because to exclude the people of New England from the fisheries, would be to deprive many of the means of living, and unjust, because the innocent were involved in suffering with the guilty; that they were impolitic, because their effect would be to diminish the commerce of England, and deprive the debtors of English merchants of the ability to pay; because to conquer the country would be to ruin it, to cut down the tree which had yielded golden fruit; and because an opportunity would be given to their hereditary rival to interfere in a family quarrel, effect the dismemberment of the empire, and glory in the national disgrace.

At the close of the last of the several debates, a young nobleman of the highest rank, who had never before spoken, took the opportunity to utter his sentiments on so important a question. "He disclaimed every idea of policy and of right internally to tax America. He disavowed the whole system. It was commenced in iniquity, pursued in resentment, and could terminate in nothing but blood."

In the house of commons, upon the several questions decided, the votes on the ministerial side varied from 304 to 188; on that of the whigs or opposition, from 106 to 58, about three to one. In the house of lords, the proportion in favor of ministers was greater.

In America, the friends of liberty continued to be watchful and active. To be prepared for the worst,

they gathered from all quarters arms and military stores. The people around Boston withheld from the royalists such articles as were needed for the support of the troops; and the merchants of New York and Philadelphia refused to supply them. When intelligence was received of the proceedings in parliament, many of the inhabitants of Boston quitted it, and sought a residence in the country.

A new Provincial congress had been elected in Massachusetts, and met on the first of February. They directed the committee of supplies "to purchase all the powder they could, and also all kinds of warlike stores, sufficient for an army of fifteen thousand men." For such as had been, or should be, purchased, Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, was appointed one of the places of deposit. In each of the towns of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury, two men were stationed to watch the movements of the troops in Boston; expresses were kept in readiness to convey intelligence into the country; and private signals were agreed on.

Samuel Adams and John Hancock had retired to Lexington. A "daughter of liberty," the wife of a royalist, sent privately a message to the former that a body of troops would leave Boston in a few days. On the 18th of April, a number of British officers placed themselves on the various routes to Concord to intercept such expresses as the whigs might send into the country. Late in the evening, a body of eight hundred troops began their march towards Concord. Expresses were immediately despatched; several were intercepted; but one, sent by Dr. Warren, who remained in Boston, succeeded in passing the officers. The ringing of bells and the firing of signal guns brought the minute-men together. Early the next morning, those of Lexington assembled on the green near the meeting-house. A few minutes afterwards, the advanced body of the regulars approached within musket-shot. Major Pitcairn, riding forward, exclaimed, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your

arms and disperse." Not being instantly obeyed, he discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire. They fired, and killed several. The militia dispersed; but the firing continued. In the whole, eight were killed, some of whom were shot in their concealment behind the fences.

The detachment proceeded to Concord. The minute-men of that town had also assembled; but, being few in number, they retired on the approach of the regulars. These entered the town, and destroyed the provisions and stores. The minute-men were reënforced, and advanced again towards the regulars. A skirmish ensued, in which Captain Davis, of Acton, was killed. The British troops were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them several killed and wounded.

The whole country was now in arms, and the troops retreated with precipitation. The militia not only pressed upon their rear, but placed themselves singly behind trees and stone walls, and, from these secure coverts, fired upon them as they passed. At Lexington, they met a reënforcement under Lord Percy, which General Gage had despatched on receiving information of the occurrences there in the morning.

After resting a moment, the whole body proceeded towards Boston. In their progress, they were more and more harassed by the provincials, whose number hourly increased, and who became in proportion more adventurous. Having an intimate knowledge of all the roads, they could pursue with less fatigue, and meet the enemy unexpectedly at the various windings; and, being all experienced marksmen, their shots seldom failed of effect. At sunset, the regulars, almost overcome with fatigue, passed along Charlestown Neck, and found on Bunker's Hill a place of security and repose.

In this engagement, sixty-five of the royal forces were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials, fifty were killed, thirty-four were wounded, and four

were missing. The killed were lamented and honored as the first martyrs in the cause of liberty. In the various sections of country from which they came, hatred of Great Britain took still deeper root; and New England, connected more than any other part of the world, as one great family, by the closest intimacy of all the inhabitants, universally felt the deprivation with a mixed feeling of sorrow and rage.

Intelligence of the battle of Lexington spread rapidly through Massachusetts and the adjoining provinces. The farmer left his plough in the furrow, the mechanic dropped the utensil in his hand, and, seizing their arms, all hastened to the environs of Boston. In a few days, a large army was assembled, which, under the command of General Ward, of Massachusetts, and General Putnam, of Connecticut, closely invested the town, and alarmed General Gage for the safety of his garrison.

In the remoter provinces, the intelligence was considered of solemn and alarming import. The great drama was opened, and the part which each should take must immediately be chosen. By many a resort to arms had never been anticipated. To them the decision was more painful; but in all the colonies it had the effect to inflame the determined, and to arouse in others the latent love of liberty. In New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the people, assembling, prohibited the departure of vessels to places friendly to the royal cause; and no commander dared to sail. In New Jersey, they took possession of the money, then large in amount, in the public treasury. In Maryland and South Carolina, the royal magazines were forcibly entered, and their contents seized for the use of the whigs.

The assembly of Pennsylvania was at that time in session. On the 6th of May, they elected Dr. Franklin, who returned on the 5th from England, an additional deputy to the next Continental congress. John Penn, one of the proprietors, was then governor. He was supposed to be not unfriendly to the Ameri-

can cause; but, in obedience to instructions, he laid before them the conciliatory plan of Lord North, and observed to them that, "as they were the first assembly to whom it had been communicated, they would deservedly be revered by the latest posterity, if by any means they could be instrumental in restoring public tranquillity, and rescuing both countries from the horrors of a civil war." They replied, that "they chose to leave the character of the plan to be determined by the governor's good sense; but, if it were unexceptionable, they should esteem it dishonorable to adopt it, without the advice and consent of their sister colonies, who, united by just motives and mutual faith, were guided by general councils."

Connecticut had poured forth her full proportion of hardy yeomanry to man the lines around Boston; but several, who remained at home, conceived the project of surprising Ticonderoga, a fortified post on the western shore of Lake Champlain, and commanding the entrance into Canada. They communicated their design to Colonel Ethan Allen, of Vermont, who, upon their arrival at Castleton with forty men, met them there at the head of two hundred and thirty Green Mountain boys. The next day, Captain Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, who, upon the first alarm, had hastened to Boston, arrived from that place, having conceived the same project, and been authorized, by the committee of safety in Massachusetts, to undertake it.

Allen and Arnold, at the head of the Green Mountain boys, hastened to Ticonderoga, and the remainder of the party to Skeensborough. On the night of the 9th of May, about eighty — all that the boats could carry — crossed the lake, and, at dawn of day, landed near the fortress. They advanced to the gateway. A sentinel snapped his fusee at Colonel Allen, and retreated. The Americans, following, found the commander in bed. Colonel Allen demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you demand it?" "In the name," replied Allen, "of

the great Jehovah and the Continental congress." The British officer, having but fifty men, saw that resistance would be vain, and agreed to surrender.

When the remainder of the party arrived, they were despatched, under Colonel Seth Warner, to take possession of Crown Point; and Arnold, hastily manning a schooner, sailed to capture a sloop-of-war lying at the outlet of the lake. These two expeditions, as well as that against Skeensborough, were successful; and thus was obtained, without bloodshed, the command of those important posts, together with more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and other munitions of war. The unexpected news of this brilliant success imparted higher courage and animation to the Americans.

Most of the militia, who had repaired to Boston, returned soon after to their homes; but a sufficient number remained, posted near the Neck, to prevent the British from leaving the town by land. Between detachments from these and parties of regulars, who were often sent to collect forage on the islands in the harbor, frequent skirmishes took place, in most of which the Americans were successful.

In the beginning of June, several transports, filled with troops, commanded by Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived from England, and General Gage began to act with more decision and vigor. He issued a proclamation, declaring those in arms, and all who aided them, rebels and traitors, and threatened to punish them as such, unless they immediately returned to their peaceful occupations. He promised his majesty's pardon to all who should in this manner give proof of their repentance and amendment, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose crimes, he alleged, were too flagitious to admit of pardon.

This proclamation, and the arrival of the troops, far from dismaying, aroused the people to greater activity and watchfulness. Again the militia assembled and surrounded Boston. Unwilling to endure the inconvenience and disgrace of this confinement, General

Gage made preparation to penetrate, with a portion of his army, into the country. To prevent this, the provincial generals resolved to occupy Bunker's Hill, an eminence in Charlestown, situated on a peninsula that approaches near to Boston.

On the evening of the 16th of June, a thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, of Massachusetts, Colonel Stark, from New Hampshire, and Captain Knowlton, from Connecticut, were despatched on this service. They were conducted, by mistake, to Breed's Hill, which was nearer to the water and to Boston than Bunker's. At twelve o'clock, they began to throw up intrenchments, and by dawn of day had completed a redoubt eight rods square. As soon as they were discovered, they were fired upon from a ship-of-war and several floating batteries lying near, and from a fortification in Boston opposite the redoubt. The Americans, nevertheless, encouraged by General Putnam, who often visited them on the hill, continued to labor until they had finished a slight breastwork extending from the redoubt eastward to the water; and in the morning they received a reënforcement of five hundred men.

The temerity of the provincials astonished and incensed General Gage; and he determined to drive them immediately from their position. About noon, a body of three thousand regulars, commanded by General Howe, left Boston in boats, and landed in Charlestown, at the extreme point of the peninsula. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their station on an eminence in Boston, commanding a distinct view of the hill. The spires of the churches, the roofs of the houses, and all the heights in the neighborhood, were covered with people, waiting, in dreadful anxiety, to witness the approaching battle.

The regulars, forming at the place of landing, marched slowly up the hill, halting frequently to allow time to the artillery to demolish the works. While advancing, the village of Charlestown, containing about four hundred houses, was set on fire

by order of General Gage. The flames ascended to a lofty height, presenting a sublime and magnificent spectacle. The Americans reserved their fire until the British were within ten rods of the redoubt; then, taking a steady aim, they began a furious discharge. Entire ranks of the assailants fell. The enemy halted, and returned the fire; but that from the redoubt continuing incessant, and doing great execution, they retreated in haste and disorder down the hill, some even taking refuge in their boats.

The officers were seen running hither and thither, collecting, arranging, and addressing, their men, who were at length induced again to ascend the hill. The Americans now reserved their fire until the enemy had approached even nearer than before, when a tremendous volley was at once poured upon them. Terrified by the carnage around them, they again retreated with precipitation; and such was the panic, that General Howe was left almost alone on the hill side, his troops having deserted him, and nearly every officer around him being killed.

At this moment, General Clinton, who had observed from Boston the progress of the battle, feeling that British honor was at stake, hastened with a reënforcement to the assistance of his countrymen. By his exertions, the troops were a third time rallied, and were compelled by the officers, who marched behind them with drawn swords, to advance again towards the Americans. The fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled, and a few pieces of cannon had been so placed as to rake the interior of the breastwork from end to end.

The provincials, having expended their ammunition, awaited in silence the approach of the regulars. The latter entered the redoubt. The former, having no bayonets, defended themselves, for a short time, with the butt-ends of their muskets. From this unequal contest they were soon compelled to retire. As they retreated over Charlestown Neck, the fire from the floating batteries was incessant; but, providentially, a

few only were killed. The enemy had sustained too much injury to think of pursuit.

In this desperate and bloody conflict, the royal forces consisted, as has been stated, of three thousand men, and the provincials of but fifteen hundred. Of the former, one thousand and fifty-four were killed and wounded; of the latter, four hundred and fifty-three. This disparity of loss, the steadiness and bravery displayed by their recent, undisciplined levies, occasioned among the Americans the highest exultation, and, in their view, more than counterbalanced the loss of position. "If this is a British victory, how many such victories," they triumphantly asked, "can their army achieve without ruin?"

But deep and heart-felt sorrow was intermingled with their rejoicings. Among the killed was Doctor Warren, a patriot, who, at an early period, had espoused with warmth the cause of freedom; who had displayed great intrepidity in several skirmishes; had four days before been elected major-general; and had, on the fatal day, hastened to the field of battle, to serve his country as a volunteer. For his many virtues, his elegant manners, his generous devotion to his country, his high attainments in political science, he was beloved and respected by his republican associates; and to him their affections pointed as a future leader, in a cause dear to their hearts, and intimately connected with their glory.

In the midst of these military transactions, a Continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. It comprised delegates from twelve colonies, all of whom were animated with a determined spirit of opposition to parliamentary taxation. A majority, however, had not yet formed the hardy resolution to separate from the mother country, and aim at independence. The measures partook of the opposite feelings of the members. Mr. Hancock, the proscribed patriot, was chosen president; they resolved that another humble petition for redress of grievances should be presented to the king; but they also resolved that means of

defence should be immediately prepared, and proceeded to the choice of officers to command their united forces.

To induce the friends of liberty in the southern provinces to embark more warmly in the cause of resistance, the northern delegates determined to give their suffrages, for a commander-in-chief, to a person residing in that quarter. Fortunately, one was found eminently qualified for the office. By unanimous vote of the congress, GEORGE WASHINGTON, then present as delegate from Virginia, was elected. He had served, with high reputation, in the late war with France; was distinguished in his native province for his military knowledge, his great wealth, the dignity of his deportment, his unsuspected integrity, and his ardent attachment to the interests of his country.

The president, addressing him in his seat, announced to him the choice which the congress had made. Washington declared his acceptance with a diffidence which gave to his great talents a brighter lustre, and assured congress that, as no pecuniary compensation could have tempted him to accept the office, at the sacrifice of his domestic ease and happiness, he would receive no pay, and would ask only the remuneration of his expenses. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were then chosen major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant-general. Lee had lately held the office of colonel, and Gates that of major, in the British army.

Congress also resolved that, for defraying the expenses which might be incurred, bills of credit, or paper money, to the amount of three millions of dollars, should be issued, and pledged the colonies for their redemption. A solemn and dignified declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was prepared to be published to the army in orders, and to the people from the pulpit. After particularizing the aggressions of Great Britain, with the energy of men feeling unmerited injury, they exclaim —

“But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it was chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as it increases ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

“We are now reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the will of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

“Our cause is just; our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as a signal instance of the divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves.

“With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, DECLARE, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which

our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves."

Early in May, the Provincial congress of Massachusetts resolved that General Gage had utterly disqualified himself to act as governor of the colony, and that, therefore, no obedience was due to him. Afterwards they addressed a letter to the Continental congress, setting forth the difficulties arising from the want of a regular government, and requesting explicit advice in what way they should remedy the evil. In reply, a resolution was adopted, declaring that no obedience was due to the act of parliament altering the charter of Massachusetts, nor to a governor who should endeavor to subvert it; and recommending that the Provincial congress, conforming as near as might be to the spirit and substance of the charter, should summon representatives from the several towns; that they, when met, should choose a council, and that these two bodies should exercise the powers of government until a governor appointed by the king would consent to act according to the charter. This advice was followed; the people discovered that they could manage their affairs without the aid of a royal governor; and many beheld, with secret pleasure, the legal ties giving way which connected Great Britain with her colonies.

The congress continued in session, performing such duties as usually devolve on the executive of a nation; appointing officers, providing means, devising plans, and giving orders. They established a post-office department, and placed at the head of it Dr. Franklin, who had held the same office under the king, and been removed in 1774. They chose a committee on Indian affairs, and directed a "talk" to be addressed to the several tribes, stating the origin of the "family quarrel," and urging them to remain neutral in the

contest. The Indians, however, were so fond of war, that, being invited by the British, they joined their standard.

Soon after his election, General Washington, accompanied by General Lee and several other officers, set out for the camp at Cambridge. In every place through which he passed he received the highest honors. At New York, the Provincial congress, in a respectful address, declared their confidence in his abilities and virtue, and feeling, in their devotion to liberty, a just jealousy of military power, expressed the fullest assurance that, when the contest was ended, "he would reassume the character of our worthiest citizen." A committee from the Provincial congress of Massachusetts met him at Springfield, and conducted him to head quarters, where he was received by another committee with all the ceremonies due to his station.

He found the army, consisting of fourteen thousand men, posted on the heights around Boston, forming a line which extended from Roxbury on the right to the River Mystic on the left — a distance of twelve miles. The troops were ardently devoted to the cause of liberty, but destitute of discipline, averse to subordination, without powder, without tents, and without most of the conveniences usually provided for regular armies.

With the assistance of General Gates, he introduced some degree of regularity and system. Several barrels of powder were obtained from New Jersey; and Captain Manly, commander of the privateer *Lee*, captured an ordnance ship, containing arms, ammunition, and a complete assortment of such working tools as were most needed in the American camp. This providential capture was followed by others, which supplied the most pressing wants of the army, enabled it to continue, through the year, the blockade of Boston, and contributed greatly to distress the enemy, for whose use the cargoes were destined.

Events occurring, this year, in the southern colonies,

still further weakened the attachment of the people to Great Britain. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, seized, by night, some powder belonging to the colony, and conveyed it on board a British ship in James River. Intelligence of this transaction reaching Patrick Henry, he placed himself at the head of the independent companies in his vicinity, and marched towards the seat of government, with the avowed purpose of obtaining, by force, restitution of the powder, or its value. He was met by a messenger, who paid him the value of the powder, when he and the militia returned to their homes.

Alarmed by this display of spirit and patriotism, Lord Dunmore fortified his palace. From this castle he issued a proclamation charging Henry and his associates with rebellious practices, which offended the people, who highly approved their conduct. Other causes increasing the popular ferment, he quitted his palace, and repaired to a ship-of-war then lying at Yorktown.

In November, he issued another proclamation, offering freedom to those slaves belonging to rebel masters, who should join his majesty's troops at Yorktown. Several hundred, in consequence, repaired to that place. A body of militia immediately assembled, and, while posted near the city, were attacked, with great bravery, by the regulars, royalists, and negroes. The militia, repelling the attack with equal bravery, gained a decisive victory. Lord Dunmore then evacuated the city, and, followed by his white and black forces, sought refuge on board the ships of his majesty. Soon after, Norfolk, set on fire by his order, was mostly consumed, and its destruction was completed by the provincials, to prevent the enemy from deriving supplies from that quarter.

The governor of North Carolina, following the example of Lord Dunmore, fortified his palace at Newbern. This caused a commotion among the people, which induced him to retire on board a ship in the harbor. While there, he made zealous exertions to

organize a party in favor of the royal cause; and a band of Scotch Highlanders, settled in the interior country, listened to his persuasions. On their march to the sea-coast, they were met by a party of militia, who attacked and dispersed them. This early victory secured the predominance of the whigs, and crushed the hopes and spirits of the tories.

South Carolina had always, with great unanimity and zeal, resisted parliamentary taxation; and soon after the battle of Lexington, the governor, Lord William Campbell, apprehensive of danger to his person, retired from the province. In July, Georgia chose delegates to the Continental congress, increasing to THIRTEEN the number of the UNITED COLONIES.

The province of New York contained many warm advocates for freedom; but its capital had so long been the head-quarters of the British army in America, that many of the principal inhabitants, having contracted intimate relations with British officers, had become devoted to the royal cause. The assembly, acting under their influence, declined to choose delegates to the Continental congress held in May, 1775; but the people, a majority of whom were actuated by different feelings, elected a Provincial congress, by whom those delegates were chosen.

When intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached the city, Captain Sears, an active and intrepid leader of the "sons of liberty," took effectual measures to prevent vessels bound to ports in America where the royal cause prevailed, from sailing. An association was also formed, consisting of one thousand of the principal inhabitants, who bound themselves to assist in carrying into execution whatever measure might be recommended, by the Continental congress, to prevent the execution of the oppressive acts of the British parliament.

The ministry, desirous of retaining in obedience this important colony, appointed Mr. Tryon to be governor over it. He had before filled the same office; was a man of address, and greatly beloved by

the people. He came fully empowered to gain adherents by dispensing promises and money at his discretion. The success of his intrigues alarmed congress, who, having particular reference to him, recommended that "all persons whose going at large might endanger the liberties of America, should be arrested and secured." Gaining early intelligence of this, he also sought refuge on board a ship in the harbor.

Although the autumn of 1775 was not distinguished by any brilliant exploit, yet the time of congress and of the commander-in-chief was not unprofitably employed. Constant attention was paid to the discipline of the troops; arrangements were made to obtain a supply of military stores; the building and equipment of a naval force was commenced; two expeditions were organized and despatched against Canada, one by the way of Lake Champlain, the other of the River Kennebec; and General Lee, with twelve hundred volunteers from Connecticut, was directed to proceed to New York, and, with the aid of the inhabitants, fortify the city and the high lands.

The abolition of all legal authority in the colonies was an evil for which, though less than had been anticipated, it was yet expedient to provide a remedy. New Hampshire applied to congress for advice on this subject. A favorable opportunity was thus presented to the zealous patriots in congress, to propose a remedy for the evil, which should, at the same time, exhibit in practice the fundamental principle of their political creed, that all legitimate authority must be derived from the people: and should also prepare the way for their darling object—a declaration of independence.

A resolution was introduced, recommending that a convention of representatives, freely elected by the people of that colony, should be called, for the purpose of establishing such a form of government as they might deem proper. It was warmly opposed by those members who were yet desirous of an accommodation

with the mother country. An amendment being made, providing that the government established should continue in force no longer than the existing contest with Great Britain, the resolution passed. Representatives were accordingly chosen, who, on the 5th of January, 1776, adopted a written constitution, acknowledging no source of power but the people. In other colonies, the same course was soon afterwards pursued.

A transaction displaying the vindictive feelings of the British occurred in October. The ministry had issued orders to officers of the navy, to proceed as in the case of actual rebellion against such colonial seaports accessible to ships-of-war as should attempt to seize any public magazines of arms or other stores. Falmouth, a flourishing town in that part of Massachusetts now the state of Maine, having, in compliance with a resolve of the Provincial congress, prevented some tories from sending their property, consisting of masts suitable for the navy, out of the country, its destruction, under color of these orders, was resolved on. Captain Mowatt, with four ships, appeared before the place, and gave notice to the inhabitants that they must leave it in two hours, as he had been ordered to destroy it. They sought by negotiation to avert their ruin, but were told that their town could be saved from destruction only by their delivering up all their arms and ammunition, engaging not to unite with their countrymen in any opposition to Great Britain, and surrendering four of their principal citizens as hostages. They asked time to give an answer, and he allowed them until the next morning. The night was spent, not in deliberation, but in removing their families and effects. Not receiving any answer, Captain Mowatt, the next day, set the town on fire, and more than four hundred dwelling-houses and stores were consumed. It was afterwards rebuilt, and its name changed to Portland.

This wanton act of devastation served to exasperate, rather than to intimidate, the people. It probably

accelerated the passage, by the Provincial congress of Massachusetts, of an act "for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to defend the sea-coast of America, and for erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the same." Under such guise did the shrewd politicians of the time, while professing allegiance to Great Britain, cover the grant of a license to privateers to cruise against and capture British vessels. Several were fitted out, and were successful.

As the year 1775 drew near to a close, the condition of the army, employed in the blockade of Boston, engaged the attention of congress. A speedy adjustment of the dispute being at first expected, the men had been enlisted to serve only until the 1st of January. No prospect now appeared of an immediate accommodation. It was therefore resolved to form a new army, to consist of twenty thousand men, and to be raised, as far as practicable, from the troops then in service. Unfortunately, it was determined that the enlistments should be made for one year only—an error the consequences of which were afterwards very severely felt.

It was supposed that most of those whom patriotism had impelled to join the army, would continue in the service of their country; but, when the experiment was made, it was found that their ardor had considerably abated. The blockade of Boston presented no opportunity of acquiring glory, by deeds of noble daring; the fatiguing duties of the camp wore upon their spirits, affected their health, and produced an unconquerable longing to revisit their homes. Notwithstanding the great exertions of General Washington, no more than half the estimated number had been enlisted at the close of the year.

The people and the troops, supposing the army to be stronger than it was, expressed great dissatisfaction at the inactivity of the commander-in-chief, which some imputed to dishonorable motives. An attack upon Boston was loudly demanded. Washington

three times proposed it to a council of war; but in every instance the decision was unanimous against it. At the last time, however, the council recommended that the town should be more closely invested. On the evening of the 4th of March, 1776, the attention of the enemy being diverted, by a brisk cannonade, to a different quarter, a party of troops, under the command of General Thomas, took possession, in silence, of Dorchester Heights, and, with almost incredible industry, erected, before morning, a line of fortifications which commanded the harbor and the town.

The view of these works, raised like an exhalation from the earth, excited the astonishment of General Howe, who, on the resignation of General Gage, had been appointed commander-in-chief. He saw that he must immediately dislodge the Americans or evacuate the town. The next day, he ordered three thousand men to embark in boats, and proceeded, by way of Castle Island, to attack the works on the heights. A furious storm dispersed them; the fortifications, in the mean time, were rendered too strong to be forced; and General Howe was compelled to seek safety in an immediate departure from Boston.

Of the determination of the enemy to evacuate the town, General Washington was soon apprized. The event being certain, he did not wish by an attack to hasten it, as the fortifications at New York, to which place he presumed they would repair, were not in sufficient forwardness to protect it. The embarkation was made on the 17th of March; a few days after, the whole fleet set sail, and the American army hastened, by divisions, to New York.

The acquisition of this important town occasioned great and general rejoicing. The thanks of congress were voted to General Washington and his troops, for their wise and spirited conduct; and a medal of gold was ordered to be struck in commemoration of the event. The British fleet, instead of conveying the troops to New York, steered for Halifax, having on board a large number of tories and their baggage.

CHAPTER XX.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA.

It has been already stated, that two detachments were despatched against Canada. The command of that which was to proceed by way of Lake Champlain, was given to General Schuyler, of New York. The number of troops to be employed was fixed at three thousand; and they were to be drawn from New York and New England. Governor Carleton, gaining intelligence of the project, despatched about eight hundred men to strengthen the works at St. Johns, on the River Sorel — a position commanding the usual entrance into Canada.

Brigadier-General Montgomery, a young officer of brilliant talents, and ambitious of glory, was ordered to proceed in advance, with the troops, then in readiness, and attack this important position, before it had been made too strong to be taken. When commencing his career, the glory and fate of Wolfe were present to his thoughts, and to his wife his parting words were, "You shall never blush for your Montgomery." General Schuyler soon followed; and, on arriving at Isle aux Noix, in the vicinity of the British works, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, exhorting them to join their brethren in the cause of freedom, and declaring that the American army came as friends of the inhabitants, and as enemies only of the British garrisons.

The fortifications at St. Johns being found stronger than was anticipated, General Schuyler returned to Albany to hasten the departure of the remaining troops, artillery, and munitions of war. He was prevented, by a severe illness, from again joining the army, and the chief command devolved upon Montgomery. On receiving a reinforcement, he invested St. Johns; but, being yet almost destitute of battering

cannon and of powder, he made no progress in the siege; and the soldiers, carrying with them into the field that attachment to liberty and equality which gave birth to the contest, displayed such utter aversion to discipline and subordination, as increased, in a great degree, his difficulties and vexations.

Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had a command under Montgomery. Having been despatched, with Major Brown, into the interior of Canada, he was, on his return, persuaded by the latter to undertake the rash project of attacking Montreal. He divided his detachment, consisting of less than three hundred men, into two parties, intending to assail the city at opposite points. Major Brown was prevented from executing his part of the enterprise. Colonel Allen and his small party, opposed by the whole force of the enemy under Governor Carleton, fought with desperate valor. Many were killed; the survivors, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to surrender. The governor, viewing Allen, not as the intrepid soldier, but as a factious rebel, loaded him with irons, and sent him to England for trial.

On the 18th of October, a fortunate event brightened the prospects of the Americans. Fort Chamblee, situated several miles north of St. Johns, was supposed to be beyond their reach, and was but slightly guarded. A detachment under Majors Brown and Livingston, attacking it unexpectedly, gained possession of it with little loss. Several pieces of cannon, and one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, were the fruits of the victory. The Americans, encouraged by success, immediately, in defiance of the continual fire of the enemy, erected a battery near Fort St. Johns, and made preparations for a severe cannonade, and an assault, if necessary.

At this juncture, Montgomery received intelligence of an action between Governor Carleton and a body of Green Mountain boys commanded by Colonel Warner. The former, elated by his victory over Allen, collected about eight hundred regulars, militia,

and Indians, with the view of raising the siege of St. Johns. In full confidence of success, they left Montreal, embarked in boats, and proceeded towards the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. In the bushes at the water's edge, Colonel Warner, having received information of their purpose, concealed three hundred men, who, when the enemy approached the shore, poured upon them a fire so unexpected and destructive, that the flotilla returned, in confusion, to Montreal.

On the 1st of November, Montgomery commenced a heavy cannonade of the enemy's works, which was continued through the day. In the evening, he sent to the British commander, by one of Governor Carleton's men, who had been made prisoner by Colonel Warner, intelligence of the governor's defeat, and demanded the surrender of the fort. It was accordingly surrendered, and the next morning entered by the American troops.

Montgomery hastened to Montreal, and, at the same time, despatched down the Sorel, the mouth of which is below that city, a naval force, to prevent the escape of the British to Quebec. Governor Carleton, believing the city not tenable, quitted it in the night, and, in a boat with muffled oars, was conveyed through the American squadron. The next day, General Montgomery entered the city; and, although no terms were granted to the inhabitants, he treated them with the kindness of a fellow-citizen, declaring that the property, rights, and religion, of every individual should be sacredly respected.

By his benevolence and address, he gained the affections of the Canadians, many of whom joined his standard. More, however, of his own troops, whose term of enlistment had expired, insisted on returning to their homes. So dear to them were the delights of the domestic fireside, and so vividly were they recalled to memory by the severe duties of the campaign, that the high character of the commander, his address, his entreaties, availed nothing to induce them to proceed

on the expedition. With the remnant of his army, consisting of no more than three hundred men, he began his march towards Quebec, expecting to meet there another body of troops, sent to act in concert with him.

These troops were a detachment from the army before Boston, consisting of one thousand men, and commanded by Colonel Arnold; who, as a soldier, was adventurous, impetuous, and fearless; as a man, overbearing, avaricious, and profligate. Their route lay along the coast to the mouth of the Kennebec, in Maine, thence up that river to its source, and thence, over lofty mountains, through a wilderness unexplored by civilized man, to the River St. Lawrence. They were unable to begin their march before the middle of September; on the 22d, they embarked in boats, at Gardiner, on the Kennebec, and proceeded to ascend that river.

They found the current rapid, and the navigation interrupted by frequent cataracts. Around these they were obliged to draw, by hand, their provisions, arms, and even their boats. Nor was their route on land less difficult. They had deep swamps to pass, and craggy mountains to ascend. The toil was so incessant, and the fatigue so great, that many, falling sick, were sent back; and along with these the rear division, commanded by Colonel Enos, returned without the knowledge of Arnold.

Before they reached the height of land, provisions became scarce. Dogs, cartridge-boxes, and shoes, were eaten. At the summit, the whole stock was divided equally among them, each receiving but two quarts of flour as his portion. The order of march was no longer observed. The soldiers were directed to proceed, singly or by companies, as they might choose, slowly or with speed, as they were able, to the nearest Canadian settlement, then one hundred miles distant. When the company, whose superior strength enabled them to keep in advance, were thirty miles

from any human habitation, the last morsel of food had been consumed.

In this extremity, Arnold, with a few of the most vigorous, made a forced march to the first village, and returned to his almost famished companions, with food sufficient to satisfy the first wants of nature. Refreshed and strengthened, they hastened forward, and, on the 4th of November, arrived at the French settlements on the Chaudiere, having been thirty-two days without seeing the abodes of civilized man, and having, in that time, performed a march unexampled for its temerity and hardship.

The inhabitants welcomed them with cordial hospitality. Though separated, in a great measure, from the world, they had heard of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies; and, as the very name of liberty is dear to the heart of man, their sympathies were all enlisted on the side of the latter. Arnold distributed proclamations among them similar to those issued by General Schuyler. As soon as the scattered soldiers were assembled, he continued his march, and, on the 9th of November, arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

Nothing could exceed the surprise and astonishment of the citizens on seeing a body of hostile troops emerging from the southern wilderness. Had Arnold, at this moment of panic, been able to cross the river, the city must have fallen an easy conquest; but boats were not at hand, and a furious storm, occurring at the time, rendered crossing impossible.

Having procured boats, and the storm having abated, he crossed the river on the night of the 13th, and landed near the place where Wolfe had landed in the preceding war. Mounting the same steep ascent, he formed his troops on the Plains of Abraham, and marched towards the city. Convinced, by a cannonade from the walls, that the garrison were ready to receive him, he returned, encamped on the plain, and, on the 18th, marched to Point aux Trem-

bles, twenty miles from Quebec, where he determined to await the arrival of Montgomery.

He came on the 1st of December. How great was the joy, and how lively the gratulations, they only can imagine, who, after long absence and suffering, have met, in a foreign land, their friends and former companions. Arnold's troops had, indeed, great cause of rejoicing. They were entirely destitute of winter clothing, and had endured extreme distress from the severity of the cold. Montgomery had brought a supply from Montreal, which he immediately distributed among them.

Their united force amounted to no more than nine hundred effective men. On the 5th, the general, at the head of these, appeared before the city, and sent a flag with a summons to surrender. The delay which had taken place had enabled Governor Carleton to increase the strength of the works, and to change the sentiments of the citizens from friendship for the Americans to hostility. He ordered his troops to fire upon the bearer of the flag.

Montgomery soon discovered the defection of his friends, and perceived that he must depend upon his own force alone for the accomplishment of his object. When he compared this force with that of the enemy, who were fifteen hundred strong; when he reflected that his troops were recent levies, whose term was nearly expired, and whose thoughts were fixed upon their homes, — his hopes of success became faint, and his forebodings gloomy. He believed, however, that success was possible, and his high sense of honor and of duty impelled him to hazard every thing to obtain it for his country.

He at first determined to batter the walls, and harass the city by repeated and furious attacks, hoping that an opportunity might occur of striking some decisive blow. He raised a mound, composed of snow and water, which soon became ice, and there planted his cannons, six only in number. After a

short trial, they were found inadequate ; and this plan was abandoned.

Meanwhile, the snow fell incessantly ; the cold became intense ; and the sufferings of the troops, from the rigor of the season and their continual toil, surpassed all that they had ever before felt, or witnessed, or imagined. To increase their distress, the small-pox broke out in the camp, presenting death in a new shape, and adding to the severity of their labors, by lessening the number to bear them. In the midst of these trials, their attachment to the cause, and devotion to their commander, remained unabated ; but these, he reflected, must soon give way before such severe and constant suffering ; and for himself, he determined to make immediately a bold and desperate effort.

Assembling his officers, he proposed to storm the city. He placed before them the motives which operated upon his own mind. He did not deny that the enterprise was highly difficult and dangerous, but maintained that success was possible. He addressed a band of heroes whose sentiments were congenial with his own ; and the decision was unanimous in favor of his proposition. The plan and time of attack were concerted, and to each officer was assigned his particular duty.

On the last day of December, at four o'clock in the morning, while a violent snow-storm was raging, the troops marched from the camp in four columns, commanded by Montgomery, Arnold, Livingston, and Brown. The two latter were directed to make feigned attacks upon the upper town, in order to distract the attention of the garrison, while the two former proceeded to assault the lower town at opposite points.

Livingston and Brown, impeded by the snow, did not arrive in season to execute their feints. Montgomery, advancing, at the head of his column, along the bank of the river, came to a barrier or stockade of strong posts. Two of these he sawed off with his own hands. The guard within were alarmed, and fled to a

block-house, fifty yards distant, where several pieces of cannon were stationed. He passed through the opening in the barrier, encouraging his men to follow. The troops at the block-house, to whom the guard had communicated their terror, began to desert it.

At this moment, Montgomery halted, to allow the troops near him to form in a body. Observing this delay, a Canadian, who lingered behind, returned to the block-house, seized a match which was burning, and discharged a cannon loaded with grape-shot, and fortuitously pointed at the little band. The discharge was instantly fatal to Montgomery, and to several favorite officers standing around him. The men, seeing their beloved leader fall, shrunk back. Colonel Campbell, the next in command, ordered a retreat; and that portion of the garrison stationed at the block-house, was left at liberty to hasten to another part of the city, already in commotion from the attack of Arnold.

This officer, marching, like Montgomery, at the head of his column, had entered the town. Advancing along a narrow street, which was swept by the grape-shot of the enemy, he received a severe wound in the leg, and was carried to the hospital. Captain Morgan, afterwards distinguished by his exploits at the south, assumed the command. Placing himself at the head of two companies, he boldly approached the enemy's works, and, entering through the embrasures, drove the men from their guns.

Here he halted until the rear of the column came up. When time was given for reflection, the danger of their situation — a small band in the heart of a hostile city — filled even the bosoms of the brave with dread. Morgan retained his firmness; and, when the morning dawned, with a voice that resounded through the city, summoned his troops to the assault of a second battery, a short distance in advance of the first.

Before this, a fierce combat ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, but more Americans, who were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from the

windows of the houses. Some of the most daring mounted the wall; but, seeing, on the other side, two ranks of soldiers, with their muskets on the ground, presenting hedges of bayonets to receive them should they leap forward, they recoiled and descended.

Weary with exertion, and benumbed with cold; exposed to a deadly fire from every quarter; their arms rendered useless by the snow which continued to fall, — the soldiers sought refuge in the houses. Perceiving that all further attempts would be vain, Morgan gave the signal of retreat. Some of the men fled, but most were unwilling to encounter another tempest of shot. They refused, however, to yield, until assured of the fate of Montgomery; when, losing all hope of success and escape, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The loss of the Americans, in this desperate enterprise, was above four hundred, of whom one hundred and fifty were killed. The whole continent bewailed the death of Montgomery. He was conspicuous, even in those times of enthusiasm, for his ardent devotion to the cause of freedom. He was endeared to the good, by the exercise, in the midst of war, of the most amiable virtues. His soldiers adored him for his lofty spirit and daring bravery. The enemy respected him for his honorable conduct and distinguished military qualities. Until his last enterprise, continual success bore testimony to the greatness of his talents; and defeat, when he was no more, confirmed the testimony of success. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to perpetuate his fame. It lives yet fresh in the memory of Americans. In 1818, New York, his adopted state, removed his remains from Quebec to her own metropolis, where the monument had been placed; and near that they repose.

Some of the Americans, on their escape from Quebec, retreated precipitately to Montreal. Arnold, with difficulty, detained about four hundred, who, breaking up their camp, retired three miles from the city. Here this heroic band, though much inferior in number to

the garrison, kept it in continual awe, and, by preventing all communication with the country, reduced it to great distress for the want of provisions.

Congress, on receiving information of the disaster of the 31st of December, directed reënforcements to be sent to Canada; and, after the beginning of March, Arnold's party was almost daily augmented by the arrival of small bodies of troops. But its strength did not increase with its numbers. The small-pox still continued its ravages; fatigue, without hope, depressed the spirits of the soldiers; the difficulty of obtaining provisions became every day greater; and the harsh measures adopted by Arnold to procure them, exasperated the inhabitants around him.

On the 1st of May, General Thomas, who had been appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived from the camp at Roxbury. On reviewing his army, he found it to consist of less than two thousand men, of whom half were not fit for duty. A council of war was held, who resolved that it was expedient to take a more defensible position higher up the St. Lawrence. To this decision they were led by the knowledge that the ice was leaving the river, and by the expectation that reënforcements from England would immediately come up. The next morning, in fact, while the Americans were engaged in removing the sick, several ships appeared in sight, and entered the harbor. A multitude of troops were immediately poured into the city.

At one o'clock, Carleton made a sortie at the head of a thousand men. Against these, General Thomas, at that moment, could oppose but three hundred. All the stores, and many of the sick, fell into the power of the enemy. The latter were treated by the governor with great tenderness, and, when restored to health, were assisted to return to their homes. The Americans retreated to the mouth of the Sorel, where they were joined by several regiments, and where their worthy commander died of the small-pox, which yet prevailed in the camp.

While patriotism and valor were, in this quarter, unsuccessfully contending with a superior force, the Americans sustained a heavy and unexpected calamity, resulting from cowardice, in another. At a fortified place, called the Cedars, forty miles above Montreal, Colonel Bedell was stationed, with four hundred men and two pieces of cannon. Assembling a force of six hundred, mostly Indian warriors, Captain Foster, who commanded at Oswegatchie, descended the river to attack this post.

Colonel Bedell, leaving Major Butterfield in command, repaired to Montreal to obtain assistance. Shortly afterwards, Captain Foster appeared, and invested the fort. He had no artillery; and, in the course of two days, but one man was wounded. More efficient than his arms was the intimation, that, if any of the Indians should be killed, it would not be in his power to restrain them from the massacre of the garrison. Intimidated by this, Major Butterfield surrendered his whole party prisoners of war, stipulating only for their baggage and their lives.

Upon the representation of Colonel Bedell, a reinforcement was ordered to march from Montreal; but he declined returning with it, and the command was given to Major Sherburne. The day after the surrender of the fort, of which event the major was ignorant, and about four miles from it, he was met by a large body of Indians, to whom, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, he was obliged to surrender. The whole loss of the Americans was at least five hundred.

General Sullivan was appointed to succeed General Thomas, and, on the 1st of June, arrived at the River Sorel, where he found between four and five thousand men. But the army of the enemy had, in the mean time, been augmented to thirteen thousand. Commanding a force so decidedly superior, Governor Carleton pressed forward in pursuit, and the Americans retreated slowly and reluctantly before him. At St. Johns, the pursuit ceased; but General Sullivan, in obedience to orders from General Schuyler, con-

tinued his march to Crown Point, at the head of Lake Champlain.

Thus terminated the expedition against Canada. In its conception it was singularly bold and romantic. In its progress were displayed fortitude and bravery seldom equalled in military annals. Its failure was a painful disappointment to the patriots of the day. It is now consoling to reflect, that success would probably have proved injurious to the cause of independence. To protect the province, the military force of the confederacy must have been too much extended, and colonies more important have been left defenceless.

APPENDIX.

AMERICAN COLONIAL TRADE.

Trade between Great Britain and the American Colonies, from 1697 to 1776, showing the Exports from, and Imports into, the then Colonies.

[From Hazard's United States' Commercial and Statistical Register.]

	New England.		New York.		Pennsylvania.		Virginia and Maryland.		Carolina.		Georgia.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
1697	£ 26,282	68,468	£ 10,093	4,579	£ 3,347	2,997	£ 227,756	58,796	£ 12,374	5,289		
1698	31,254	93,517	8,763	25,279	2,720	10,704	174,053	310,135	9,265	18,462		
1699	26,660	127,279	16,818	42,792	1,477	17,064	198,115	205,078	12,372	11,401		
1700	41,486	91,918	17,567	49,110	4,608	18,529	317,302	173,431	14,058	11,003		
1701	32,656	86,322	18,547	31,910	5,220	12,003	235,738	199,683	16,973	13,908		
1702	37,026	64,625	7,965	29,991	4,145	9,342	274,782	72,391	11,870	10,460		
1703	33,539	59,608	7,471	17,562	5,160	9,899	144,928	196,713	13,197	12,428		
1704	30,823	71,896	10,540	22,294	2,430	11,819	264,112	60,458	14,067	6,621		
1705	22,793	62,504	7,393	27,902	1,309	7,206	116,768	174,322	2,698	19,788		
1706	22,210	57,050	2,849	31,583	4,210	11,037	149,152	58,015	8,652	4,001		
1707	33,793	120,631	14,283	29,855	786	14,365	207,625	237,901	23,311	10,492		

	New England.		New York.		Pennsylvania.		Virginia and Maryland.		Carolina.		Georgia.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£		
1708	49,635	115,505	10,817	26,899	2,120	6,723	213,493	79,061	10,340	11,996		
1709	29,559	120,349	12,259	34,577	617	5,881	261,668	80,268	20,431	23,521		
1710	31,112	106,338	8,203	31,475	1,277	8,594	188,429	127,639	20,793	19,613		
1711	26,415	137,421	12,193	28,956	38	19,403	273,131	91,535	12,871	20,405		
1712	24,699	128,105	12,466	18,524	1,471	8,464	297,941	131,583	29,394	20,016		
1713	49,904	120,778	14,428	46,470	178	17,037	206,263	76,304	32,449	23,967		
1714	51,541	121,288	29,810	44,643	2,663	14,927	280,470	128,873	31,290	23,712		
1715	66,555	164,650	21,316	54,629	5,461	17,132	174,756	199,274	29,158	16,631		
1716	69,595	121,156	21,971	52,173	5,193	21,812	281,343	179,599	46,287	27,272		
1717	58,898	132,001	24,534	44,140	4,499	22,505	296,334	215,962	41,275	25,058		
1718	61,591	131,385	27,331	62,966	5,388	22,716	316,576	191,925	46,335	15,811		
1719	54,452	125,317	19,596	56,355	6,564	27,063	332,069	164,630	50,373	19,630		
1720	49,206	128,769	16,836	37,397	7,928	24,531	331,432	110,717	62,736	13,290		
1721	50,483	114,521	15,631	50,754	8,037	21,543	357,312	127,376	61,858	17,703		
1722	47,955	133,722	20,118	57,478	6,832	26,397	233,091	172,754	79,650	34,374		
1723	59,339	176,486	27,992	53,013	8,332	15,992	287,997	123,833	73,103	42,246		
1724	69,585	168,507	21,191	63,020	4,057	30,321	277,314	161,894	90,504	37,839		
1725	72,021	201,768	24,976	70,650	11,981	42,209	214,730	195,334	91,942	39,182		
1726	63,816	200,892	38,307	81,366	5,960	57,631	324,767	185,981	93,453	43,934		
1727	75,052	187,277	31,617	67,452	12,823	31,979	421,583	192,965	96,055	23,254		
1728	64,689	194,590	21,141	81,634	15,230	37,478	413,039	171,092	91,175	33,067		
1729	52,512	161,102	15,833	64,760	7,434	29,799	336,174	103,931	113,329	58,366		
1730	54,701	208,196	8,740	61,356	10,582	48,592	346,823	150,931	151,739	64,785		

	New England.		New York.		Pennsylvania.		Virginia and Maryland.		Carolina.		Georgia.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
1731	£ 49,018	183,467	£ 20,756	66,116	£ 12,786	41,260	£ 408,502	171,278	£ 159,771	71,145	£	£
1732	61,095	216,600	9,411	65,510	8,524	41,698	310,799	148,239	126,207	58,298	828	828
1733	61,935	184,570	11,626	65,117	14,776	40,565	403,198	186,177	177,845	70,466	203	1,695
1734	82,252	146,460	15,307	81,753	20,217	54,392	373,090	172,086	120,466	99,658	18	1,921
1735	72,899	189,125	11,155	80,105	21,919	48,304	394,995	220,331	145,348	117,837	3,010	12,112
1736	66,783	222,158	17,914	86,000	20,786	61,513	380,163	204,794	214,083	101,147	2,012	2,012
1737	63,347	223,923	16,833	125,833	15,198	56,690	492,246	211,301	187,758	58,986	5,701	5,701
1738	59,116	203,233	16,228	133,438	11,918	61,150	391,114	258,860	141,119	87,793	17	6,496
1739	46,601	220,378	13,459	106,070	8,134	54,452	444,654	217,200	236,192	94,445	233	3,324
1740	72,339	171,031	21,498	118,777	15,018	56,751	341,997	281,428	265,560	131,821	924	3,524
1741	60,052	193,147	21,142	146,130	17,158	91,010	577,109	248,582	236,830	924,270	1,622	2,553
1742	53,166	118,899	13,536	167,591	8,527	75,295	427,769	264,186	154,607	127,063	17,018	17,018
1743	63,185	172,461	15,067	131,437	9,596	79,340	557,821	328,195	235,136	111,499	2	2,291
1744	50,248	143,982	14,527	119,920	7,416	62,214	402,709	234,855	192,594	79,141	769	769
1745	38,948	110,463	14,063	54,957	10,130	54,230	399,423	197,799	91,347	86,815	939	939
1746	38,612	209,177	8,341	86,712	15,779	73,699	419,371	282,545	76,897	102,809	934	934
1747	41,771	210,640	14,992	137,931	3,832	82,404	492,619	200,088	107,500	95,529	24	24
1748	29,748	197,682	12,358	143,311	12,363	75,330	494,852	252,624	167,305	160,172	1,314	1,314
1749	39,999	238,286	23,413	265,773	14,944	238,637	434,618	323,600	120,499	164,085	51	5
1750	48,455	343,659	35,632	267,130	28,191	217,713	508,939	349,419	191,607	134,037	1,912	2,125
1751	63,237	305,974	42,363	248,941	23,870	190,917	460,085	347,027	245,491	138,244	355	2,065
1752	74,313	273,340	40,648	194,030	29,978	201,666	569,453	325,151	238,261	150,777	1,526	3,163
1753	83,395	345,523	40,553	277,864	33,527	245,644	632,575	356,776	164,634	213,009	3,057	14,128

	New England.		New York.		Pennsylvania.		Virginia and Maryland.		Carolina.		Georgia.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
1754	£ 66,538	329,433	£ 26,663	127,497	£ 30,649	214,647	£ 573,435	323,513	£ 307,233	149,215	£ 3,236	£ 1,974
1755	59,533	341,796	28,055	151,071	32,336	144,456	489,668	285,157	325,525	187,887	4,437	2,630
1756	47,359	384,371	24,073	250,425	20,091	200,169	337,759	334,897	222,915	181,730	7,155	536
1757	27,556	363,404	19,168	353,311	14,190	168,426	418,881	426,687	130,839	213,949		2,571
1758	30,204	465,694	14,260	356,555	21,383	260,953	454,362	438,471	150,511	181,002		10,212
1759	25,985	527,067	21,684	630,785	22,404	498,161	357,228	459,007	206,534	215,255		15,173
1760	37,802	599,647	21,425	430,106	22,754	707,998	504,451	605,88	162,769	218,131		12,198
1761	46,225	334,225	48,648	289,570	39,170	204,067	455,083	545,350	253,002	254,587		24,279
1762	41,733	247,385	58,882	283,046	38,091	206,199	415,709	413,599	181,695	194,170		23,761
1763	74,815	258,854	53,998	238,560	38,228	284,152	642,294	555,391	232,366	250,132		44,903
1764	88,157	459,765	53,697	515,416	36,258	436,191	559,508	515,192	341,727	305,308		18,338
1765	145,819	451,299	54,959	382,349	25,148	363,368	505,671	383,224	335,918	334,709		29,165
1766	141,733	409,642	67,020	330,829	26,851	327,314	461,693	372,548	293,587	296,732		67,268
1767	128,207	406,081	61,422	417,957	37,641	371,830	437,926	437,628	395,027	244,093		23,334
1768	148,375	419,797	87,115	182,930	59,406	432,107	406,043	475,984	503,103	239,368		56,562
1769	129,353	207,993	73,466	74,918	26,111	199,906	361,892	488,362	337,114	306,600		53,340
1770	148,011	394,451	69,882	475,991	28,109	134,881	435,094	717,782	278,907	146,273		56,193
1771	150,381	1,420,119	95,875	653,621	31,615	728,744	577,848	920,326	420,311	409,169		70,493
1772	126,265	824,330	82,707	343,970	29,133	507,909	528,404	793,910	425,923	449,610		92,406
1773	124,624	527,055	76,246	289,214	36,652	426,448	589,803	328,904	456,513	344,859		62,932
1774	112,248	562,476	80,008	437,937	69,611	625,652	612,030	528,738	432,302	378,116		57,518
1775	116,588	71,625	187,018	1,228	175,962	1,366	758,356	1,921	579,349	6,245		118,777
1776	762	55,050	2,318		1,421	365	73,226		13,668			12,569







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